DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 193 160 SO 012 906

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TITLE The General Assembly of the United Nations, 1979 (34th).
INSTITUTION Cape May County Vocational Schools, N.J.; Institute for World Order, New York, N.Y. Planetary Citizens, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE 79
NOTE 63p.
AVAILABLE FROM Planetary Citizens, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 ($4.00)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Disarmament; Global Approach; Higher Education; International Relations; Peace; Resource Materials; Secondary Education; *World Affairs; *World Problems
IDENTIFIERS *United Nations

ABSTRACT

This report is a succinct summary of action taken by the 34th General Assembly of the United Nations. It is intended for use by members of UN delegations, UN secretariat staff, policy makers, scholars, students, and members of the public interested in global problems and world issues. The report provides an accurate record of actions taken, including key phraseology of the resolutions and the nature of the vote or action taken, and also gives background and past history of the items discussed, sufficient for general understanding without reference to other sources. Some highlights of the Assembly follow. In his annual "state of the world" message, the Secretary General Kurt Waldheim stated that "the primary objective of the United Nations must remain the survival of the human race and its environment in the best possible conditions." The two most popular speakers of the Assembly were Pope John Paul III and Fidel Castro. On the disarmament issue the UN approved Salt II and the comprehensive test-ban treaty (CTB). The UN seated the representatives of the former Pol Pot regime of Cambodia, accused of the massacre of millions, in preference to one sponsored by invading Vietnamese. Appeals were addressed to Iran for the release of the U.S. hostages. The Assembly adopted a USSR-sponsored resolution condeming "Hegemonism" in violation of which the USSR itself was soon to stand condemned over Afghanistan. The session plans to continue negotiations on a New International Economic Order. Costa Rica's offer to establish a new University for Peace was accepted. International Youth Year was designated for 1958. The maneuvers of South Africa concerning Namibia were condemned and the Security Council was asked to prevent South Africa from gaining nuclear weapons. The UN welcomed the peace settlement in Rhodesia. (Author/RM)

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THE 34th GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the UNITED NATIONS 1979

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New York, N.Y. 10017

PRICE: $4.00

THE THIRTY-FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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Published with the assistance of:

THE INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ORDER, PLANETARY CITIZENS, WORLD FEDERALISTS

777 UN Plaza, 10-D, New York, N.Y. 10017

This Report is intended for use by a wide public: Members of UN delegations, UN Secretariat staff, policy makers, scholars, students, and members of the public interested in world order issues.

Specifically, the Report has the following uses:

1. Record of UN Proceedings: The Report is theonly available succinct summary of this scope of UN General Assembly action. It provides an accurate record of all the major and most of the minor actions of the Assembly, including key phraseology of the resolutions and the nature of the vote or action taken.

2. Background to Issues: Within the limitations of space, the Report also gives a background and past history of the items discussed, sufficient for general understanding without reference to other sources.

3. Informed Analysis and Opinion: The Report provides insights and analyses on major issues, reflecting the independent opinions of an informed and long-time observer of the UN. These views provide a stimulating basis for group or classroom discussion and further research by students, scholars and members of the issue-concerned public, and suggest the importance of a global perspective to a series of interrelated and increasingly hazardous global problems.

THE THIRTY-FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF

THE UNITED NATIONS

by Donald F. Keys

INTRODUCTION

The 34th General Assembly of the United Nations:

- Took three major forward steps:
  ---Adopted a Convention against Hostage Taking.
  ---Adopted a Treaty on resources of the Moon.
  ---Adopted an important Convention on Elimention of Discrimination Against Women.

- Declared the winners of the unofficial Oratorial Sweepstakes to be Pope John Paul, II, and Fidel Castro.

- Made small gains in the disarmament field while waiting for the major military powers to take some meaningful steps.

- Seated the representatives of the former Pol Pot regime of Cambodia, accused of the massacre of millions, in preference to one sponsored by invading Vietnamese.

- Addressed appeals to Iran for the release of the U.S. hostages.

- Adopted a USSR-sponsored resolution condeming "Hegemonism" in violation of which the USSR itself was soon to stand condemned over Afghanistan.

- Planned continuing negotiations on a New International Economic Order, and prepared for a new Special Session on the matter in 1980 (beginning August 25).

- Agreed to accept Costa Rica's offer to establish a new University for Peace.

- Saw several Members take proposals for improving the UN directly to the General Assembly -- out of the Special Committee on the subject, where great power pressure is taking a toll of forward looking proposals.

- Decided to designate 1985 as International Youth Year.

- Condemned the maneuvers of South Africa concerning Namibia, and asked the Security Council to prevent South Africa from gaining nuclear weapons.

- Welcomed the peace settlement in Rhodesia

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

In his annual "state of the world" message ("Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization"), Kurt Waldheim was anything but optimistic. Said he:

"The past year has been full of uncertainty, tension and conflict. The international scene has never been more complex nor the old concepts of power so diffused. There have been sudden shifts in the political balance and unexpected developments rooted in a variety of forces - economic, political, social and even religious. There is an increasing uneasiness as to the manageability of the affairs, and especially the economic life and social organization, of the planet in the circumstances now prevailing. These uncertainties and unforeseen developments affect in different ways the lives and the future of virtually all nations and peoples and give rise to deep-seated feelings of anxiety and frustration, which in turn create a climate favourable to new and unpredictable events.

"If ever there was a time for serious reflection and stocktaking on the state and future of the community of nations, it is now. In our current anxiety we have, to some extent, lost sight of the enormous advances that have been made on so many fronts in the past 30 years. What we now require is the necessary spirit of accommodation to take full advantage of those advances.

"Most of the symptoms and problems I have mentioned are ones which the United Nations, if effectively utilized as the working structure of the world community of the future, could be of unique assistance in solving. We need, above all, to press on with the development of the elements of such a community on a global basis. This is not a matter of abstract idealism but of practical self-interest. It is also a matter of urgency.

"There are a number of obvious reasons why the development of an effective world community will be difficult and slow. At one end of the scale we have the complex relationships of the greatest Powers, which are still to a considerable extent prisoners of their mutual fears and suspicions and of the fearful destructive capacity of their weapons systems.

"At the other end of the scale the majority of nations and peoples are afflicted in varying degrees by acute problems of instability, poverty and economic weakness, often exacerbated by political and economic developments elsewhere in the world. While the aspirations of their peoples are high, economic dependence or instability shackles many of them to an economic system which no longer meets the requirements of an interdependent world of free nations.

"Between these two poles, many middle and smaller Powers, within the United Nations and in various groupings outside it, have steadily developed a sense of co-operative responsibility on many global issues. The non-aligned movement is a good example of this positive trend. In the United Nations they have shown by and large a mixture of idealism and pragmatism which constitutes a most constructive middle force in the affairs of the world. This, in my view, is one of our best hopes and assets for the future, particularly at a time when the polarization of the world situation caused by great Power tensions would appear to be becoming a less dominant factor

of the international scene as other independent political, economic and social forces emerge.

"The United Nations has played an invaluable role in insulating regional crises to the necessary extent from the delicate balance of nuclear Power relationships. This is certainly not the comprehensive system for the maintenance of international peace and security envisioned in the Charter of the United Nations but in the extraordinary and, it is to be hoped, transitional conditions of our world, it represents an indispensable safeguard of world peace and survival.

"It cannot be said that the past year has witnessed any striking progress on our main problems. Indeed, the lack of progress, especially on the economic side, is distinctly disappointing and in strong contrast to the evident urgency of most of the problems. Political determination and a sense of pragmatism are necessary to reverse this debilitating situation.

"What we are trying to create in the United Nations is a world order fundamentally different from any that existed before."

ON INDO CHINA: The UN has been especially preoccupied this year with developments in Indo-China. . . The concern of the international community has been focused both on the political and military developments in Indo-China and on their humanitarian consequences. It has seemed to me that, at the level of human tragedy now prevailing in that part of the world, humanitarian concerns must be attended to without delay.

ON THE MIDDLE EAST: The Middle East problem is so sensitive that it is virtually impossible to make any suggestions or proposals about it without upsetting some, or sometimes all, of the parties concerned...

A just and lasting peace in the Middle East can ultimately only be achieved through a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the question, including in particular the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people....I believe that the UN, if used with imagination and forbearance, offers in this regard unique possibilities which have not yet been fully utilized.... An international conference, properly prepared, might well provide a way out of the present dangerous situation....

ON LEBANON: The most explosive elements of the Middle East situation exists in close proximity in and around southern Lebanon, and their interaction represents both a national tragedy for Lebanon and a constant threat to the wider peace.... This tragic and volatile situation is a reflection of the wider problems of the region and will not be finally resolved until solid progress on those problems is made. In the meantime we shall continue our efforts...especially through...the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to maintain the present relative calm. (In the) vicious circle of violence and reprisal...the perennial losers have been the civilian population.... I appeal to all concerned to cooperate with UNIFIL....

WORLD ECONOMY: In almost every area economic problems multiply. Many countries experienced unacceptable levels of inflation and unemployment. Exchange rates have been unstable and volatile. Protectionism has increased. Foreign trade has stagnated. Economic growth has been slow and erratic in industrialized countries. The developing countries have found it impossible to finance resonable rates of development. Official development assistance

has stagnated at about half the target figure agreed in the International Development Strategy. The situation is becoming critical...(and calls for) strong co-ordinated action to remove the structural causes of the present difficulties.

The on-going multilateral negotiations have so far failed to achieve results commensurate with the magnitude of the needs.... The GATT agreements provide a framework for the fight against future protectionism, but give little immediate relief.

UNCTAD V: The fifth session of the UN Conference on Trade and Development was the first occasion on which an international conference specifically focused on the subject of structural change. The results were limited and disappointing.

The multilateral negotiations now taking place within the framework of the UN are clearly facing difficulties...The Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy made no progress in its first sessions....

ENERGY: Nations need to change from a pattern of energy consumption dominated by oil to a more energy-saving pattern of growth, relying on more diversified sources of energy.... We must find ways to ensure sustainable supplies of energy for the world economy while avoiding the excessive depletion of natural resources ... consistent with the right of countries to exercise permanent sovereignty over their natural resources.

LAW OF THE SEA: The delegations attending the Conference unanimously agreed that it was possible...to adopt formally a draft convention during the spring and act upon it during the summer with the aim of adopting a convention before the end of August, 1980 ... this, the longest and most comprehensive diplomatic conference ever convened under the auspices of the UN.

HUMAN RIGHTS: Great hopes have been placed in the UN by people...who rightly expect the Organization to react in the face of the disregard or violation of human rights. We must realize, of course that the UN has not always been in a position fully to meet these expections.... The effectiveness of the UN in matters of human rights is inextricably linked with the attitudes of its Member States.

Among the more positive developments during the past year has been the wide-ranging debate on ways and means of improving the effectiveness of the UN in the field of human rights....

Significant decisions have been taken during the last year...in dealing with situations of gross violation of human rights. Investigations have been initiated in some cases, individual experts have been designated to look into others, and in some instances I have been requested to undertake contacts with Governments....

REFUGEES: One of the agonies of the human condition has been the uprooting of millions of people from their homes and families to face unknown dangers, want and despair. To alleviate this appalling tide of human suffering, the UN has been deeply and increasingly engaged on behalf of refugees throughout the world. Two important meetings were convened this year to deal with

the problem of refugees. Both had positive results.... For the Indo-Chinese refugees, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees has conducted an operation of growing dimensions....I much appreciated the response of Member States...Offers of resettlement opportunities doubled...and most substantial new pledges in cash and kind, exceeding $160 million were received.

UNITED NATIONS: I continue to be disturbed by prevailing attitudes to the UN and by our apparent inability to generate the kind of broad public support, confidence and understanding without which we shall not achieve the great objectives upon which mankind's future prosperity - even survival - may depend...

What has not so far been adequately developed is a general and consistent support of the aims and activities of the UN as a whole, as a working model for a genuine world community.

This is particularly obvious in the response, or lack of it, to many of the decisions of the Security Council. It is clear also in the reluctance of many Goverments to bring to the UN problems which obviously fall under the terms of the Charter until there is no other alternative and the problems have become too explosive and dangerous to ignore.

More dangerous still is the ever present possibility that we shall be confronted, for a variety of expected and unexpected reasons, with a dramatic threat to international peace and security which the UN, in its present stage of development, may not be able to deal with.

There is very little general understanding of the UN as a political institution, or as a system of specialized organizations, evolving in the new complexities and cross-currents of the contemporary world. There is almost no general knowledge of its capacity or importance as a balancing factor, a safety-valve or in conflict control. As the memories of the Second World War fade, there seems to be less and less comprehension of the necessity of building step by step, the framework of a working world community capable of withstanding the storms and facing the common problems of an uncertain future. Instead, small, and more or less irrelevant, matters tend to figure large in the popular image of the World Organization....

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE: The concept of international civil service is at the heart of efforts to build an effective system of world order. For that reason, especially, I believe that Member States should keep this basic issue constantly in mind. I have to say frankly that in my view the international civil service is at present at a critical juncture. Underlying this situation is the fact that an increasing number of Member States seem less willing to observe, in practice, the obligations they assumed under the Charter with respect to the independent nature of the Secretariat. This trend is self-sustaining in the sense that, if one State or group of States does not honor these obligations, other States tend to follow suit for fear of losing their stake in the Secretariat. These developments put at risk the noble and essential experiment outline in the Charter of building a truly international Secretariat working together with a common purpose for the UN.

BUDGETARY: In keeping with the commitment I made...I have pursued a determined policy of budgetary constraint. While the initial budget estimates for the previous and current biennium provided for rates of real increase

of 3.5 and 2.2 percent, the initial estimates for the current biennium have been limited to a real growth rate of less than 1 percent.

Difficulties continue to be experienced in the financing of peacekeeping operations. It is becoming clear that the continuation of this trend may make it difficult or impossible for some troop contributing countries with smaller resources to participate in peacekeeping operations.... As a matter of equity, it is not acceptable that the burden of the peacekeeping operations of the UN should fall so heavily on a small group of States which have voluntarily undertaken the responsibility for providing contingents for these operations. ...The maintenance of international peace and security is a collective responsibility .... I appeal to those member States which have not paid their assessments to reconsider their position.

CONCLUSION:

Obviously the primary objective of the United Nations must remain the survival of the human race and its environment in the best possible conditions. But this effort is likely in the end to be abortive, unless at the same time we progressively build up the working elements of a global civilization and order unprecedentedly wide in its scope and diversity. This will require, among other things, increasingly effective institutions, the universal acceptance of a minimum basic code of international conduct, and a steady growth of the civility, trust and respect with which nations, as well as individuals, deal with each other. If these aims could be achieved, many doors now closed to progress would be opened, and many precious resources, both human and material, could be used in more constructive and useful ways.

Excessive parochialism can be a dangerous and wasteful force in international as well as national affairs. The United Nations is unique in providing a place where national interests can be articulated, group interests identified and global interests distilled and worked for. If national and group interests can interact in the United Nations within this third dimension of global priorities and with a determination to get real results, it should be possible to move forward steadily on many of the great issues where we now seem to be becalmed.

There is nothing basically wrong with the existing international mechanism except the apparent inability of Governments to use it to its full potential. For that to happen, we need to develop a confidence in, and a vision of, the future which is not incessantly clouded or neutralized by narrow aims or temporary setbacks. With confidence and vision the United Nations is capable of becoming a decisive instrument in human development.

The days of national supremacy appear to be over. The community of nations, at the outset of a new era, faces the test of an uncertain future. The United Nations was set up to help all Governments to meet the test together. I hope the Organization will be used increasingly to build the confidence and develop the vision necessary to guarantee the future."

THE ORATORICAL SWEEPSTAKES

The two most popular speakers of the Assembly were Pope John Paul II, and Fidel Castro.

Pope John Paul made the first of his many moving addresses in the New York area at the United Nations -- it was, after all, the UN which invited him in the first place. He stressed the continuing danger of nuclear war, the root causes of war and injustice, and the dangers of divorcing spiritual and material values:

"The continual preparations for war demonstrated by the production of ever more numerous, powerful and sophisticated weapons in various countries show that there is a desire to be ready for war, and being ready means being able to start it; it also means taking the risk that sometime, somewhere, somehow, someone can set in motion the terrible mechanism of general destruction....

"...the relationship between spiritual values and material or economic values. In this relationship it is the spiritual values that are pre-eminent, both on account of the nature of the values and also for reasons concerning the good of man. The preeminence of the values of the spirit defines the proper sense of earthly material goods and the way to use them. This preeminence is therefore at the basis of a just peace....

"The fundamental criterion for comparing social, economic and political systems is not, and cannot be, the criterion of hegemony and imperialism: it can be, and indeed it must be, the humanistic criterion, namely the measure in which each system is really capable of reducing, restraining and eliminating as far as possible the various forms of exploitation of man and of ensuring for him through work, not only the just distribution of the indispensable material goods, but also a participation in keeping with his dignity, in the whole process of production and in the social life that grows up around that process....All human beings in every nation and country should be able to enjoy effectively their full rights under any political regime or system....

The address of Fidel Castro to the Assembly as present head of the Non-Aligned movement was also very fully attended. He tried, partly, to score points that he had failed to win at the conference of the Non-Aligned in Havana, where his extremism -- in effect identifying the non-aligned movement with the USSR approach to the world failed, and led to a resurgence of the original tenets of the movement. But he also spoke convincingly about many of the faults and abuses in international affairs, although most States could not agree with his "therefores."

THE SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT

Cuba entered the battle for a Security Council seat against the choice of Latin America, Columbia, and for many, many votes, neither could secure the necessary two-thirds vote -- Cuba coming within a few votes on occasion. Following the invasion of Afghanistan, Cuba's popularity dropped precipitously. The spectre of having Cuba serve as President during the debate on Afghanistan was too much.

Cuba and Colombia agreed to support Mexico instead.

DISARMAMENT

Disarmament watchers at the UN tend to agree that the two most important resolutions approved by the 34th General Assembly dealt with SALT II and its follow-on negotiations, and with a comprehensive test--ban treaty (CTB). In overwhelmingly approving both resolutions -- the one on SALT "without a vote"or by consensus -- did what the world organization can possibly best do: focus world public opinion and attention on next necessary steps in disarmament.

All 152 nations, even China, are pressuring the US Senate to ratify the SALT II agreement, and pressing the super-Powers to get on with real disarmament in SALT III. Except for China and France the world community is also urging the super-Powers to finish negotiating a CTB. Unfortunately, the call for a testing moratorium or suspension, encompassed in one of the 1978 resolutions was abandoned.

In adopting its 38 resolutions and a decision on disarmament items, the Assembly approved 15 relating to nuclear issues, 7 to conventional disarmament issues, 9 on institutional and housekeeping arrangements, and 8 on studies.

During the Assembly, China announced that it would "directly participate in due time next year in the work" of the major UN negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament (CD) at Geneva. Thus for the first time, all avowed nuclear powers will be participating.

There remains no "breakthrough" in disarmament. The deadlock continues, with no sign of any major changes in position of States in the near future. The US and USSR continue their general attitude of arrogance, and to show an identy of interest in resisting pressure from the UN membership.

Seriously and sadly, there was no resolution submitted directly relating to the Second Review Conference of the Member States on the Non-Proliferation Treaty, due to take place in August, 1980.

Although the 39 resolutions adopted by the Assembly were not a record (42 were adopted by the 1978 Assembly), the number indicates the continuing high level of anxiety and frustration of the membership on the continuing and highly flammable arms race.

Of the 39 resolutions and decisions adopted by the Assembly, 17, or 41 percent were adopted without a vote, indicating, in general the substantial effort made to achieve agreement. The greatest division occured on nuclear issues. Of the 15 resolutions adopted on nuclear matters, 11 required a vote.

RESOLUTIONS ON NUCLEAR AND RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

The Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB). This key resolution was approved with 137 votes for; none against, and two abstentions (China and France, who feel justified in continuing to test). The agreement of both super-Powers to the resolution was at the cost of leaving out the call for a halt or moratorium on testing until a CTB could be completed. The resolution stated that a CTB is "a matter of the highest priority," and urges the US, UK and US to try to complete their negotiations before the reconvening of the CD in February -- now a vain hope.

Study On A Test Ban: The new Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies urged only one immediate study -- on a comprehensive test ban, to be finished by spring, 1980. This decision (technically not a resolution) was overwhelmingly endorsed -- by a vote of 126 to 9 with 4 abstentions. The five nuclear weapon States put on a shabby performance: the USSR and allies opposed the study; France, the US and UK abstained; and China did not participate in the vote.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (Salt II). This important resolution was approved by consensus, after long negotiations by Ambassador Alfonso Garcia Robles of Mexico. The text noted that SALT II has "finally been signed" and it welcomed the agreement. It also stated the hope that negotiations for SALT III would soon begin and result in an "important step toward... the complete, total destruction of existing stockpiles...and ensuring...a world free of such weapons." In supporting this resolution, the US and USSR allowed a bit more erosion of the resistance to relating their private, bilateral talks to the UN.

Fissionable Materials: This Canadian initiative requests the CD to consider the cessation of the production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons. The vote was 118 for, 9 against (USSR and allies) with 12 abstentions, including France and India.

Nuclear Disarmament Negotiations: This Soviet initiative, toned down in a revised draft, requested the CD to initiate, "as a matter of high priority, negotiations with the participation of all nuclear weapons States on the question of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament." In an interesting vote, 120 approved, 2 (US and France) voted against, with China "not participating", and 19 abstentions. Thus, of the nuclear powers, only the USSR voted in favor, supporting its own resolution. Most of the military allies of the US abstained, while such weathervane states as Sweden and Mexico joined the majority of non-aligned countries voting in favor. Although no cogent reason was given for not supporting this resolution, some can be deduced. For one thing, it breaks nuclear disarmament out of "general and complete" or overall disarmament; secondly, it could have been planned as an embarrasment to China, which is opposed to nuclear disarmament until the two super-Powers have made substantial reductions in their arms.

Prohibition Of The Use Of Nuclear Weapons: The CD has on its agenda negotiations on a treaty prohibiting use of nuclear weapons pending nuclear disarmament. The resolution asked that the views of States be passed on to the CD and that they be considered in the pending negotiations. The resolution was approved by a vote of 112 for, 16 against, and 14 abstentions. The US, most NATO States and France opposed it, while abstentions included USSR and allies, plus Australia, Austria, Israel and Japan. Such states as China, Mexico and Sweden voted in favor. NATO has a "keep'em guessing" policy on non-first-use, as regards Europe.

Strengthening The Security Of Non-Nuclear States: Three approaches to this goal were reflected in three separate resolutions -- all approved. In the first, USSR and friends called for the elaboration by the CD of a convention to assure non-nuclear weapon States against the use of nuclear weapons. It was approved by a vote of 114 for, 1 against (Albania) (China: absent); with 25 abstentions, mostly NATO allies, but including Sweden among others.

The second resolution originated by Pakistan, was roughly parallel to the first, and was adopted by 120 for, none against, and 22 abstentions, with China supporting it.

The third resolution, a rare initiative by the US, requests the CD to continue negotiations on reaching agreement on such arrangements, not specifying a convention. It was approved 110 for, 1 against (Albania); and 29 abstentions, mainly Warsaw Pact and friends.

Non-Stationing Of Nuclear Weapons Where There Are None: This USSR resolution asked that the concept of an international agreement toward this end be examined. It was approved by a vote of 99 for, 18 against, and 19 abstentions, China not voting. The US, UK and France and friends, voted against while moderates plus Cuba abstained.

Radiological Weapons: This draft, jointly sponsored by the US and USSR, and the showcase piece of little consequence brought by them from the CD requests the CD to negotiate the text of a treaty presented to it by the two, prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons (weapons using radioactive by-products of fission). It was approved without a vote.

RESOLUTIONS ON NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, ISRAELI NUCLEAR WEAPONS

South Asia: This perennial Pakistan-inspired resolution to establish a nuclear free zone in South Asia was overwhelming approved with only two negative votes: India and captive Bhutan. Approving were 96 States, and 40 abstained, including both the communist bloc and those States which feel that there can be no nogotiations for a nuclear-free zone in the area unless India initially approves. Since the action was taken by Pakistan in response to the nuclear explosion in India, this is not to be the case.

Middle East: This recurring resolution urges that talks begin to establish such a zone. Vote: 136 for; none against; one abstention: Israel. The resolution was initated in the general belief that Israel has the bomb.

Israeli Nuclear Armament: In the same connection, a resolution condemned any attempt by Israel to manufacture nuclear weapons, requested a study of Israeli nuclear armament by qualified experts, and appealed to all States to end any cooperation with Israel which could assist it in acquiring and developing nuclear weapons, "strongly condemning" any attempt to develop nuclear weapons, or introduce them into the Middle East.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 97 in favor, 10 against, the US, Israel and others, with 38 abstentions, mainly on the basis that Israel had been unfairly singled out as against other new-nuclear, or next-nuclear powers.

Africa: The hardy Perennial African sponsored resolution had a new twist this year due to the purported nuclear test in the South Atlantic, suspected of being South African in origin. In addition to asking States to respect the continent of Africa as a nuclear-weapon-free zone, it "vigorously condemned the reported explosion of a nuclear device by South Africa" as well as any nuclear collaboration with that country. The Security Council was asked "to prohibit all forms of cooperation" with South Africa in the nuclear field, and to institute enforcement action against that regime in connection with acquisition of nuclear weapons. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 128 for; none against; 11 abstentions.

A second resolution, adopted without a vote, thanked the Secretary-General for his immediate investigation into the reports of the South African nuclear explosion and asked all States having information to forward it to him. It also asked for a comprehensive report on South Africa's plans and capabilities in the field.

Latin America: Two resolutions were approved, without a vote, relating to signature of Protocols I and II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco (creating a Latin American nuclear-free zone).

NON-NUCLEAR MEASURES

Freezing and Reduction of Military Budgets: Under this resolution, the Assembly asked that"a new impetus be given to endeavors to achieve agreements to freeze, reduce or otherwise restrain...military expenditures, including adequate measures of verification satisfactory to all parties concerned." But while the resolution was adopted without a vote, the "measures of verification" remain a different matter. The Secretary-General has developed "an instrument for standardized reporting of military expenditures and measures of verification" to which the USSR objects on principle. Votes on a preambular and an operative paragraph relating to this were adopted by recorded votes of 127 for, none against, 10 abstentions; and 127 in favor, none against, 9 abstentions, respectively. Abstentions were USSR and friends.

Chemical Weapons: This resolution, reaffirming resolutions since 1968 urges the completion of a convention and expresses regret that agreement has not yet been reached, asking the CD to treat it as a matter of high priority. Adopted without a vote, and one of the prime scandals of disarmament efforts, with blame to be laid at the doors of US and USSR.

Declaration On International Cooperation For Disarmament: The Czech-initiated resolution is a lengthy affirmation of correct behavior of States in negotiating disarmament. It was expertly advocated, and approved by a vote of 116 in favor, none against, and 29 abstentions. The US called it "An empty exercise," Sweden said that "almost everything" had been said before and "in a more comprehensive way;" and Mexico stated that "It is rare for my delegation to abstain." China? "Not participating."

New Weapons Of Mass Destruction: This Soviet proposal is opposed by the US and its allies as being too general, treating future types of unknown weapons. The Resolution urges the CD to continue to prepare a draft treaty prohibiting the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction. It was adopted by a vote of 117 to 0 with 24 abstentions, US and NATO States, plus Australia, Austria, Israel, Japan and Sweden, among others.

Implementing The First Special Session On Disarmament: One of several resolutions under this heading, this resolution expressed "deep concern" over the continued arms race and urgently called upon all States to undertake immediate steps leading to halting and reversing the arms race. Approved without a vote.

Comprehensive Program Of Disarmament: The Assembly asked the CD to initiate negotiations on a comprehensive program of disarmament (outlined by the Disarmament Commission) -- (DC) and complete its elaboration before the second

special session scheduled for 1982. The Resolution also asked the CD to "proceed without any further delay" to negotiate on priority questions, and indirectly asked the super-Powers to step up their negotiations and report the results to them. Adopted by a vote of 130 for, none against, 11 abstentions -- the USSR family (including Afghanistan) and -- the US! without its allies. Some delegations stated that the draft Comprehensive Program, forwarded from the DC to the CD "neither comprehensive nor a program." for disarmament.

International Satellite Agency: A resolution on this French proposal (which announced in 1978 their reentry into disarmament discussions) asks the Secretary-General to undertake an in-depth study of the feasibility of an international satellite agency to monitor compliance with disarmament agreements, and to report on it to the next special session on disarmament. In this vote the US deserted NATO, abstained with the USSR and company. The vote: 124 for, none against, 11 abstentions. Neither super-Power wants somebody else looking them over --not even the UN.

The Second Disarmament Decade: Declared the 1980's to be the Second Disarmament Decade, with the DC requested to prepare elements of a "Declaration of the 1980's as a Disarmament Decade." Approved without a vote. However, debate was intense on the phrase "specific target dates" for achieving major objectives. It was changed merely to "targets." The USSR called the phrase "not realistic", and the US titled it " a little bit misleading." Disarmament veteran Ambassador Carlos Ortiz de Rozas protested that "dates" was precisely the word that gives content to the resolution."

Disarmament Week: Adopted without a vote and without any enabling appropriations, was a resolution noting the observance of Disarmament Week starting on UN day, October 24 each year, urging continued observance.

Conference On Cruel Weapons: The Assembly took note that the Conference To Prohibit or Restrict the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons with Excessively Harmful or Indiscriminate Effects had reached agreement with regard to a draft protocol banning the use of non-detectable fragments (from anti-personnel bombs), that there was a "wide measure of agreement in respect of restriction of use of incendiary weapons." Which means, being translated, that the Conference has been unable to ban napalm, which all the major military powers like. Further it was unable to do anything about high velocity bullets from small calibre weapons -- introduced by the US in Vietnam, which have approximately the same cratering effect on flesh as the banned expanding dum-dum bullets. These arms have now become standard in US, USSR and other countries as well. (M-16, AK-47). The Conference "stressed the need to exercise the utmost care in their development so as to avoid an unnecessary escalation in the injurious effects of such systems." The escalation, of course has already occured. The resolution, adopted without a vote endorsed a further session of the Conference in Geneva, September, 1980.

The Indian Ocean As A Zone Of Peace: Two resolutions were adopted on this sincere effort to keep big power rivalry out of the Indian Ocean. The first noted the report of a meeting of the states in the area, urged that the talks between the USSR and US regarding their military presence in the Indian Ocean be resumed, and renewed the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. It was approved by a vote of 117 for, none against, and 23

abstentions. The latter included both the US and USSR, plus other NATO and Warsaw Pact members. China was the only nuclear weapons state supporting the resolution.

The second resolution decided to enlarge the Committee and to convene a conference on the Indian Ocean during 1981 in Sri Lanka. It was approved 126 to none, with 14 abstentions: the US and twelve NATO States among them. The US said flat out that it could not agree "with the idea of eliminating great-power military presence in the Indian Ocean...."

Confidence Building Measures: In a new departure which might have promise for the future, West Germany offered a resolution asking that a two year study be made by experts on confidence-building measures, based on positive experience in Europe. The USSR and allies complained about too many disarmament studies and their costs, but having lost a test vote, they went along with approval of the resolution without a vote.

Disarmament and Development: A resolution adopted without a vote took note of an interim report of this extensive study under the leadership of Mrs. Inga Thorsen of Sweden, and provided for its successful completion in two years.

Relationship Between Disarmament And International Security: The resolution provided for continuation of the work of the Group of Experts on this topic, who expect to complete their work in the Fall of 1980, and have held two meetings thus far. The study represents an effort to come to grips, for the first time in the World Body, with the question of the circumstances and provisions of world security under which States would feel able to safely to disarm.

World Disarmament Conference: No one wants to be the first to tell the USSR to forget it, so this committee lingers on, wasting time and money. It related to the pre-Special Session on Disarmament days.

UN Institute For Disarmament Research: The Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies has recommended that this Institute (a French initiative) be set up within the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) as an interim arrangement until the Second Special Session. A resolution to that effect was adopted without a vote in the Assembly, but earlier, in Committee 1, the USSR couldn't help grumping and there it adopted by a vote of 106 in favor, none against, and 10 abstentions, --USSR and allies. The USSR contended that disarmament studies often "only complicate discussions in disarmament."

Other Resolutions: In other resolutions, the CD and DC were sent back to work without a vote, a continuation of the Disarmament Fellowships program was approved, and a two year study of institutional arrangements on disarmament affairs, present requirements and future needs within the UN, sought by Sweden, was approved by a vote of 121 for, 9 against and 9 abstentions, over USSR objections.

Strengthening Of International Security: An annual event is an item on the Strengthening of International Security based on a Declaration by the same name, a Soviet initiative which never generated much enthusiasm. The Assembly considered three resolutions under this heading, from similar inspiration.

Intervention and interference in internal affairs of States: The Assembly agreed to set up an ad hoc working group to elaborate a draft declaration on the subject. The vote: 106 for, 11 against, 14 abstentions.

Omnibus text: The Assembly reaffirmed its opposition to any threat or use of force, etc, which attempts to violate the sovereignty and security, etc. of States. Vote: 104 for, 2 against (Israel, US), 24 abstentions.

Good Neighborliness: In a resolution adopted without a vote, the Assembly affirmed that good neighborliness is founded upon strict observance of the principles contained in the Charter, etc., as well as the rejection of any acts seeking to establish zones of influence and domination....

POLITICAL ISSUES

KAMPUCHEA, OR CAMBODIA, OR DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA, OR PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA.

The discussions and debate on Kampuchea during the General Assembly were long and severe. They involved several elements: credentials -- which regime was to be seated at the UN? relief to refugees and the starving; and the question of Vietnamese troops in the country.

CREDENTIALS: Should the Pol Pot regime be seated, or the Heng Samrin group? It will be remembered that following the overthrow of neutral Prince Sihanouk by Lon Nol and others supported by the US, a Chinese-supported Khmer Rouge insurgency gathered strength, and finally established itself in firm control of the country. Then followed, apparently one of the greatest massacres of history -- some 2 or 3 million persons brutally killed. The Vietnamese invasion of the country could be welcomed as ending that ghastly event. But at the same time, the Vietnamese are traditional enemies of Cambodians, and it was a Vietnamese-sponsored government, that of Heng Samrin which was by now in charge of most of the country. And the Vietnamese were not leaving.

In the Credentials Committee, of course China supported the Pol Pot regime, for whom it was largely responsible; while the USSR supported the Heng Samrin regime. Many States were torn on what to do -- some, like Congo and Sweden felt no recognition to any government of Cambodia should be proferred at this time. Others, in fact, as it turned out, a majority, came down on the side of "non-interference in the internal affairs of states" (lest it happen to them), and supported the discredited and brutal ex-rulers, the Pol Pot group. In the end, the Pol Pot group continued to be recognized at the UN, by a vote of 71 to 35 against, with 34 abstentions. Among those voting in favor were such a mixed group as Argentina, Canada, China, GDR, Japan, Nigeria, Romania, UK, US, and Yugoslavia. Those voting against included the USSR and friends and India. Abstentions included Austria, France, Mexico, Netherlands, Sweden, Tanzania and Zambia.

Since the general rule is to recognize the government actually in power, the issue clearly was decided on the basis of many other considerations.

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA:

Following a second fierce debate, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which called for the "immediate withdrawal" of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and called upon all States to refrain from all acts of agression

and all forms of interference in the internal affairs of States in South-East Asia. It also requested the Secretary-General to "explore the possibility of holding an international conference on Kampuchea." The resolution also contained calls for resettlement of refugees, humanitarian relief efforts, and suggests that the people of that country be allowed to choose their own government democratically.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 91 in favor, 21 against, and 29 abstentions. Those against were the USSR and friends and very few others. The abstentions were a very mixed group.

THE PLEDGING CONFERENCE:

The International Committee of the Red Cross, and the UN's UNICEF and World Food Program are heavily engaged in relief for Cambodia. The Director of UNICEF stated that 80-90 percent of the children are severely malnourished, and that malaria, dysentery, intestinal parasites and respiratory diseases are epidemic and have taken a heavy toll among those weakened by hunger. There were, he said, only about 50 doctors for four million people.

The UN does well through the technique of pledging conferences -- for development aid, disaster relief, and so on, and did so in connection with Cambodia. An all-day Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief was convened by the Secretary-General. Seventy six States and the European Community took part. $210 million in cash and kind was pledged. In announcing the results, Kurt Waldheim said: "The world should know that we are united in our determination that further death by starvation and disease shall not be permitted to continue. That is the message we send from this hall."

CYPRUS:

The Cyprus event is an annual one at the UN General Assembly. It concerns the fact that 40% of Cyprus is occupied by Turkish troops, and that, although they have frequently been asked to go home, they have decided to stay. No forward motion on the major issues seems possible because of the deep divisions between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities, but more primarily because NATO countries, particularly the US, do not want to put pressure on Turkey for fear that would diminish Turkey's enthusiasm for NATO.

The Assembly voted 99 in favor to 5 against (Moslem countries: Bangladesh, Djibouti, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey) with 35 abstentions (including France, FRG, Italy, Japan, Sweden, US) full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity,non-alignment and all other good things of Cyprus, and called once again for the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs. In repeating by rote demands of previous years, the Assembly also demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence from Cyprus and called for resumption of negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

A contested Paragraph 11 reiterated the call to the Security Council to examine implementation within a specified time-frame of its resolutions (calling for withdrawal of Turkish troops, etc) and adopt thereafter all appropriate measures for implementation of its resolutions -- implying the threat of use of force.

It was adopted by a vote of 87 for, 10 against, (including Israel and the US), and with 40 abstentions.

A further new fillip authorized the Assembly President to appoint an ad hoc committee of no more than seven Member States in the (certain) event that the S-G continues to report lack of progress.

As UN issues remain unresolved, there is time, pressure of frustration, and opportunity for the gradual lengthening and elaboration of resolutions. One can nearly judge the duration of unresolved issues by the length of the resolutions.

MIDDLE EAST

The major resolution of the 34th Assembly on the "Situation in the Middle East" seemed little different from the same resolution in past years. It condemned Israel's occupation of Palestine and other Arab territories, declared that a just settlement must be based on a comprehensive solution under the UN, which took account of all aspects, in particular the attainment by the Palestinians of all their rights, and Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

In an unfortunate reference to the efforts of the leaders of Egypt and Israel, the resolution condemned "all partial agreements and separate treaties." It called for the convening of the Peace Conference under the auspices of the UN and co-chairmanship of the USSR and US, with the participation of the PLO.

The resolution was sponsored by Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, India, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Vietnam and Yugoslavia. Against were Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, FRG, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, UK and US. The vote: 102 for, 17 against, 20 abstentions.

QUESTION OF PALESTINE: Four resolutions were adopted concerning the Committee on Palestinian Rights. The first requested the Committee to keep the situation under review and make suggestions to the General Assembly and Security Council, concerning efforts to promote implementation of its recommendations. It was adopted by a vote of 118 for, 10 against (Australia, Canada, Denmark, FRG, Iceland, Israel, Netherlands, Norway, UK and US), with 12 abstentions.

The second resolution asked the Secretary-General to upgrade the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights to Division for the same and provide it with additional resources. It Scored 117 for, 15 against, and 9 abstentions. The third resolution, affirmed that a just and lasting peace requires a just solution of the problem of Palestine including the right of return and the right of national independence in Palestine. It called for participation by a vote of 117 for, 14 against, and with 16 abstentions.

The third resolution, affirmed that a just and lasting peace requires a just solution of the problem of Palestine including the right of return and the right of national independence in Palestine. It called for participation of the PLO in all international conferences and so on. It was adopted by a vote of 117 for, 14 against, and with 16 abstentions.

The fourth resolution, dealing roughly with the Camp David Accords, rejects provisions which violate right of return or self determination by the Palestinians, and condone continued Israeli occupation, and condemns "all partial agreements and separate treaties;" and states that the Camp David Accords have no validity in relation to the future of the Palestinian people and territories.

It was adopted by a vote of 75 for, 33 against, and 37 abstentions -- a basically unpopular resolution. A vote to delete one of the worst paragraphs was barely defeated -- 51 for, to 56 against, with 30 abstentions; while a similar vote for requiring a 2/3 majority lost by slightly more: 53 for, 65 against, and 19 abstentions. Clearly there was no snowball for the sinking of the Camp David Accords.

RESOURCES: "The right of the Arab States and peoples whose territories are under Israeli occupation to full and effective permanent sovereignty and control over their natural and all other resources, wealth and economic activities" was endorsed by the Assembly, by a recorded vote of 118 for, 2 against (US and Israel), with 21 abstentions.

DEVELOPMENT AID: A UN Development Program decision to provide $3.5 million in assistance to the Palestinian people was endorsed by the Assembly in a vote of 112 for, 3 against, (Israel, Canada, US,) with 21 abstentions.

LIVING CONDITIONS: The Assembly also requested preparation of an analytical report on the living conditions of the Palestinians, by a vote of 120 for, 2 against (Israel, US) 21 abstentions.

ISRAELI PRACTICES: Under the item, "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories" the assembly considered three annual resolutions.

1. A very omnibus resolution covered such matters as annexation of territories, establishment of new settlements, deportation and expulsion, confiscation, demolition of homes, torture and ill treatment, illegal exploitation of resources. Other parts of the resolution deal with illegality under the Geneva Convention relative to civilians in time of war, making demographic changes, and with the continuing work of the Special Committee. It was adopted by a vote of 11 for, 2 against (Israel and the US) with 31 abstentions.
2. A second resolution concerns the failure of Israel to acknowledge the applicability of the Geneva Convention to territories occupied since 1967. Adopted by 140 for, 1 against (Israel) and with only 4 abstentions (Central African Republic, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Malawi).
3. A third resolution states that all actions taken by Israel in territories occupied since 1967 designed to change their nature "have no legal validity." Vote: 140 for, 1 against (Israel), 4 abstentions (same as above).

THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES:

1. Assistance to Palestine refugees: directed attention to the continuing seriousness of the financial position of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the New East (UNRWA). Vote: 140 for, none against, 1 abstention (Israel).
2. Assistance to persons displaced as a result of the June, 1967 hostilities: Adopted without a vote.
3. Appeal to augment allocations for scholarships and grants to Palestinian refugees for higher education and co-educational training: 138 for, none against, two abstentions(Israel, US).
4. Commendation to the Working Group on the financing of UNRWA: adopted without a vote.

5. Return of displaced inhabitants -- restrictions or conditions on return were declared "null and void" and the refusal of Israeli authorities to take steps deplored. Vote 121 for, 3 against (Australia, Israel, US), 16 abstentions.

6. Gaza Strip: called once more upon Israel "to desist from removal and resettlement of Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip and from destruction of their shelters." The vote: 136 for, 1 against (Israel), 5 abstentions (Guatemala, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malawi, US.

THE MAYOR OF NABLUS:

In a remarkable show of unanimity, the Assembly voted 132 in favor to 1 against (Israel), with one abstention (Papua New Guinea) "noting with concern the decision of the Israeli authorities to deport the Mayor of Nablus outside the occupied Palstinian territory...(and calling) upon the Israeli authorities to rescind the deportation order." The UN action undoubtedly added to the general disapproval which led to the Mayor's reinstatement by Israel.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:

On December 17, the UK representative (Sir Anthony Parsons) announced that agreement had been reached in London between his Government and the Patriotic Front on arrangements for a cease-fire in Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia). He stated that "The way is now open for a free and fair election that will bring Zimbabwe to sovereign independence."

The following day, the General Assembly reaffirmed that there can be no independence in Zimbabwe before majority rule, took note of the Lancaster House agreements, and declared that sanctions against Southern Rhodesia could not be revoked without a Security Council decision. It asked the UK for assurance that South Africa would not undermine the agreements, and commended the Patriotic Front for its decisive contribution to the agreement. The vote was 107 for 16 against, 21 abstentions.

Before its adoption, the Assembly decided to retain a paragraph deploring the lifting of sanctions unilaterally by certain States, in violation of the Security Council, by a vote of 95 for, 17 against, 28 abstentions

On December 21, the Security Council "called on UN Members to terminate the measures decreed by the Council against Southern Rhodesia in 1966, 1968 and in subsequent resolutions." It also dissolved the Council committee which had been monitoring implementation of the mandatory sanctions. It called for the UK to ensure that no South African or other external forces would remain in or enter Southern Rhodesia, and asked for assistance for reconstruction purposes and repatriation of refugees and displaced persons. The Vote: 13 to none, with two abstentions -- Czechoslovakia and USSR, who maintained that the action to lift sanctions was premature.

IRAN:

The problem of US diplomatic personnel hostages in Iran did not figure in the General Assembly, but took up a great deal of the time and effort of the Security Council. Since the general course of events is well known, it will not be included here, but a brief chronology of UN response might be worthwhile.

The US wanted to mobilize world public opinion on the issue, and found the UN the right place. The UN took a gradual and non-inflammatory approach in order not to make matters worse.

November 9: The President of the General Assembly, Salim A. Salim of Tanzania, made public a statement saying that he was sending a personal message to the Ayatollah appealing for the release of the hostages.

November 9: The President of the Security Council, Sergio Palacio de Vizzio, of Bolivia, following consultations with the members, expressed "profound concern" and speaking as President, emphasized that the principle of the inviolability of diplomatic personnel and establishments. He urged "in the strongest terms" that the hostages be released without delay and provided protection.

November 25: The Secretary-General sent a letter to the President of the Security Council requesting him to convene an urgent meeting of the Security Council. He called the situation a threat "not only to the peace and stability of the region, but to the entire world." The latter is a condition which activates article 99 of the Charter, under which he can make such a request.

November 27: The Security Council met, and the President read a statement on behalf of the Council, reiterating the appeal for release of the hostages, following a presentation of the situation by the S-G. The Council adjourned, hoping for the arrival of the Iranian Foreign Minister the following Saturday, December 1.

December 1: The Council convened without the Iranian representative. It was informed Iran would not participate. All 15 speakers called for release of the hostages.

December 2: -- The discussion in the Security Council continues.

December 3 -- The discussion is continued, and the Latin American Group issues a Declaration calling for release of the hostages.

December 4 -- The Security Council unanimously called on Iran to release US personel, provide protection and allow them to depart. The resolution also asked the Secretary-General to "lend his good offices for the immediate implementation" of the resolution. He stated that he would "explore intensively the various modalities which might prove useful..." and noted there were few precedents.

December 17 -- The International Court of Justice, following a complaint of the US, issued a "Provisional Measures Order". It stated that Iran should immediately restore the premises of the US Embassy to US authorities and ensure their inviolability, release the hostages without any exception, and afford them full protection. Iran was also told to provide immunity from any form of criminal jurisdiction and freedom and facilities to them to leave the country.

December 29 -- The Security Council met to consider further US proposal for action on the Iran-US crisis, asking that if Iran had not responded by release of the hostages, the Council would meet on January 7 to adopt sanctions against Iran. At the same time, the Council would welcome the Secretary-General's announcement that he would leave for Teheran.

December 31 -- The Security Council voted affirmatively on the resolution to deplore the continued detention of the hostages, took note of the Secretary-General's willingness to go to Iran, and agreed to meet January 7 for the purposes note above. The vote was 11 in favor, none against, with 4 abstentions: Bangladesh, Czechoslovakia, Kuwait, USSR.

The unusual unanimity with regard to the US hostages was undoubtedly to a great extent sincere; there was the additional factor, however, that no Member of the UN wanted to see a general breakdown of diplomatic relations through the spread of similar incidents, and was anxious to protect the concept of diplomatic immunity.

AFGHANISTAN: The issue of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan did not arise formally in the UN until January 3rd, when 50 countries requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council.

HEGEMONISM: One of the supreme ironies of the session was, however, that the Assembly adopted, on December 14, a resolution condemning the policy of "hegemonism" (normally a Chinese term), which had been introduced and pushed by the USSR. It was condemned "in all its manifestations, including that conducted at the global, regional or subregional levels, pursued in the context of the policy of division of the world into blocs by individual States."

The Resolution was, of course, a Soviet undertaking to go the Chinese one better, a fact which was not lost on China which called on some choice language in response. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 111 in favor, 4 against, (Australia, Canada, Israel, US) with 26 abstentions, mostly western European and Latin American States.

WESTERN SAHARA: During the past year, Mauritania gave up its claim to part of the Western Sahara in a peace agreement with the Frente POLISARIO, insurgents supported by Algeria. Formerly divided between themselves by Mauritania and Morocco, the latter then claimed the whole area.

Meanwhile back at the UN, the Assembly reaffirmed the right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence, and noted with satisfaction the agreement between Mauritania and POLISARIO, counting it an "important contribution" to the peace process. It "deeply deplored" the extended occupation of the area by Morrocco and urged that State to join the peace process, and terminate the occupation. Not a popular resolution, it was adopted by a vote of 85 for, 6 against (Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guatemala, Morrocco, Saudi Arabia), and 41 abstentions.

EAST TIMOR:

It is much too late for East Timor, occupied by Indonesia a few years ago, upon the collapse of the Portugese colonies. Nevertheless, the issue of independence has been kept alive at the UN, and lately, as the extent of the tragedy which followed, in terms of killings and starvation has become more known, the discussion has gained renewed, if hopeless, momentum.

The East Timor resolution reaffirmed the "inalienable right" (all rights at the UN are "inalienable") to self-determination and independence, and that the people there must be free to determine their own future under the UN.

The Resolution also expressed deepest concern at the suffering of the people and called upon all parties to facilitate the entry of relief aid,

and asked for all possible assistance to those seeking to leave for purposes of family reunion. The vote was: only 62 in favor, 31 against, and 45 abstentions -- a very bad split in UN terms.

THREE PLUSES: TREATIES ON HOSTAGETAKING, THE MOON AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

Amidst the gloom of the general international situation, the UN came through with three major advances in an area in which it excells -- treaty-drafting.

1. CONVENTION AGAINST HOSTAGE TAKING

This item is a Federal Republic of Germany initiative, finally come to a successful conclusion. The idea was to split off a piece of the "terrorism" item which, on the basis of general practice and feeling, ought to be non-controversial. Terrorism generally remains a political hot potato -- one person's terrorism is another's fight for independence.

By its action, the Assembly opened for signature and for ratification or accession the new International Convention against the Taking of Hostages. Its action was by consensus. The earlier action on Article 9 of the Convention, reflecting different attitudes about its merits, was 125 for, 10 against -- USSR group, plus Vietnam; plus abstentions by Botswana, Cuba. and Romania. Article 9 provides that a request for extradition of an alleged offender "shall not be granted if the requested State has...ground for believing that...the request...has been made for the purpose of prosecuting or punishing a person on account of his race, religion, nationality, ethnic origin or political opinion..."

According to the Convention, which consists of 20 articles, any person who seizes or detains and threatens to kill, to injure or to continue to detain another person in order to compel a third party to do or abstain from any act as a condition for the release of the hostage, commits the offense of taking hostages.

The State in which the alleged offender is found is obliged to submit the case for prosecution in the State in accordance with its laws.

2. RESOURCES OF THE MOON

We all know now that the moon is rock, and that rock means minerals, and we also know that minerals are something we might like to have. Naturally the question arose as to how the moon-rock pie was to be divided, should it exploitation appear feasible.

After protracted negotiations which lasted over several years, the Assembly was able to adopt during this session a Treaty, formally known as the "Agreement Governing the Activities of States on the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies," Most significantly it states that the moon and its natural resources "are the common heritage of mankind," and not subject to national appropriation by any claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means. This landmark decision (no pun intended), extends to the moon and any planets we might overrun, a magnificent new principle, pioneered in connection with the "resources of the sea-bed and the sub-soil thereof," forming part of the Declaration on the Law of the Sea.

At the time this principle was promulgated, expert Elizabeth Mann

Bourgese wrote that it was a "creeping concept" which would come to be applied more widely. We can applaud her prescience, and the victory for humanity. The holdout in both cases, the Law of the Sea and the Moon Treaty, was the USSR, which for some reason finds "the common heritage of mankind" principle not to accord with communist dogma. In the end, in both cases, USSR went along reluctantly with a late case of "me-tooism"-a disease which in such cases should be encouraged.

The Treaty also declares that "The establishment of military bases, installations and fortifications, the testing of any type of weapons and the conduct of military maneuvers on the moon shall be forbidden," and states that States parties shall not place any weapons of mass destruction on or around the Moon.

Regarding exploitation, the Treaty states that parties should "undertake to establish an international regime...to govern exploitation of the natural resources of the moon...." It would provide for "orderly and safe development" and rational management...of those resources, "and equitable sharing." The Treaty even provides that measures shall be taken to prevent the disruption of the existing balance of its environment. All installations are to be open to other States parties. Procedures for taking disputes to the Secretary-General if consultations do not succeed between them are included. The Treaty was adopted without a vote.

3. CONVENTION ON ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

The Assembly was able to adopt the new Convention, the result of five years of consultations, by a vote of 130 for, none against, 11 abstentions (Bangladesh, Brazil, Comoros, Djibouti, Haiti, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Senegal.)

In the Convention, "discrimination against women" is defined as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."

The 30 articles cover measures to be taken by States to eliminate such discrimination in various fields, including political and public life, right to nationality, education, employment, health and marriage and family. Rights of rural women are given special attention, as are the elimination of stereotypes and suppression of prostitution.

A covering draft resolution for the Convention recommends that the Assembly ask the Secretary-General to present the text to the 1980 World Conference on the UN Decade for Women, to be held in Copenhagen in July.

Separate votes were taken on two preambular paragraphs, and on two articles of the draft Convention, registering the disagreement of two sides of the human rights effort. The preambular paragraphs brought in everything but the kitchen sink including aggression, foreign domination, interference in internal affairs of states, mutual co-operating and disarmament under strict international control, etc, etc., Western States abstained on the vote. The two articles dealt with questions of nationality of children and rights during and after marriage. Arab, Islamic and some Latin America countries objected by abstentions.

HUMAN RIGHTS

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO IMPROVING U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORT

1. INDIVISIBILITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

A resolution adopted by a vote of 136 for to 1 against (inexplicably the US), with 7 abstentions (Belgium, France, FRG, Israel, Luxemburg, Malawi, UK) reiterated that all rights are indivisible and interdependent, and that equal attention should be given to both civil and political, as well as economic, social and cultural rights.

It also recognized that it is necessary to guarantee the right to work, participation of workers in management, right to education, health and nourishment, through adoption of measures at the national and international levels, including the establishment of the new international economic order.

While the resolution may have had some points difficult for the West to swallow, (such as reference to the NIEO), it succeeds in stating a truth that both "sides" need to hear and try to ignore -- namely the interdependence of civil and economic rights.

2. REDESIGNATION OF THE DIVISION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Requests the Secretary-General to consider redesignation of the Division of Human Rights as the Centre for Human Rights. This is a popular way to upgrade the significance of a subject area within the UN, resulting in more emphasis hopefully, but certainly more staff and budget. Recently the Disarmament Division was so designated, and has become more important and effective. The vote was 103 for, none against, 39 abstentions: USSR and friends, plus states like Saudi Arabia, Syria, and some Black African States.

3. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The suggestion that the UN create a new post of High Commissioner for Human Rights was first presented in 1965. It has been fought bitterly by USSR and sympathizers, and Arab countries, and has from time to time evoked a high degree of mindlessness and emotionalism. At issue is the basic question whether the UN has the right to blow the whistle on human rights violations on an on-going basis.

The favorite tactic of the oppostion has been postponement, as they have not been able completely to kill the proposition. This year, the Assembly decided that the proposal would be considered in 1980, at the 35th Assembly. The vote was 72 in favor, 26 against, with 40 abstentions. The proponents voted in favor.

4. NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Without a vote the Assembly invited establishment of national institutions for promotion and protection of human rights, and emphasized the importance of their being independent.

INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS

A resolution adopted without a vote again invited all States to become parties to the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural rights, and on Civil and Political Rights "and to consider acceding to the Optional Protocol thereto." These are the two main UN instruments on human rights, and are the treaty form of the Universal Declaration.

The Optional Protocol allows individuals to appeal to the Human Rights Committee over the head of their governments if other means of redress are exhausted.

Sixty-three States have thus far ratified or acceded to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Sixty-one have approved the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Among the important powers who have not yet ratified is the US.

CODE FOR ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

The Assembly adopted without a vote an 8-article code of conduct for law enforcement officials, to be transmitted to Governments for use in national legislation and practice. The important code, if observed would end one of the worst sources of human rights violations, the treatment of prisoners. It calls for all law enforcement officials to protect human dignity and maintain human rights, to use force only when strictly necessary and to respect matters of a confidential nature. It also states that no law enforcement person may inflict, instigate or tolerate torture, and s[illegible]l not engage in corruption.

CONVENTION ON TORTURE

Also without a vote, the Assembly noted the significant progress made in drafting a convention on torture and other cruel or degrading treatment during the 1979 session of the commission on Human Rights, welcomed the decision for a working group to meet to complete it before the next session of the Commission, and asked it to be given "high priority".

CODE OF MEDICAL ETHICS

The Assembly called for circulation of a code of medical ethics developed by the World Health Organization for comments and suggestions. No vote was taken.

OTHER ACTION

Migrant Workers: The Assembly by a vote of 118 to none with 19 abstentions, appealed for a convention to protect migrant workers.

Chile: Appealed for contributions to the Trust fund for Chile, and, by 96 for to 6 against with 33 abstentions repeated its "indignation at the continued violation of human rights in Chile. While there are continued such violations in Chile, they have tapered off, and there are other, much worse situations in other countries not dealt with. The choice of target is political.

Habeas Corpus: Assembly decided the remedy was of "fundamental importance."

Mass Violations: Assembly was pleased that several such situations had ceased.

Regional Arrangements: Assembly supported US efforts to advance regional approaches to solving human rights problems.

Hazardous Chemicals: Urged exchange of information on chemicals and drugs banned within countries to discourage exportation of same.

Drug Abuse Control: Invited States to help fund programs in developing countries.

Assistance to Students: Decided to enlarge assistance program for South African student refugees.

Right to Education: Invited States to adopt measures to ensure universal education.

Social Defence Trust Fund: Endorsed the UN's seeking permanent funds to strengthen the UN institutes on prevention of crime and treatment of offenders.

Refugees: Three resolutions adopted without a vote. (1) Boat People, S.E. Asia: Urged cooperation with the UN agencies in humanitarian activities "while avoiding any action that may cause human suffering and while ensuring safe and orderly departures." The Resolution stated that such activities should serve no purpose other than the needs of the refugees and the displaced.

(2) African Refugees: Asked a "constant flow of resources" to High Commissioner for Refugees to deal wih the "ever growing number of African refugees, which to date number about four million." (3) Asylum: Asked support in granting asylum to those seeking refuge, and observation of the principle of voluntary (not forced) repatriation.

Social Progress: A further resolution called attention to the 1979 Declaration on Social Progress and Development, and asked its principles be taken into account.

World Social Situation: It "remains disturbing". Slow progress in implementing the goals of the 1969 Declaration of Social Progress and Development.

Year of Disabled: the Assembly decided to expand the theme of the International Year of Disabled persons (1981) -- latest in the march of "Years."

Elderly and Aged: Recommended development of policies and programs for the aging and measures to ensure their participation in the World Assembly on the Elderly in 1982.

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

The Assembly decided without a vote to designate 1985 as International Youth Year, with the slogan of Participation, Development, Peace, and invite all efforts for observance of the Year. Significantly, no one was proposing a second International Youth Assembly; the last one was just too difficult for the UN to handle. And there were some negative aspects to that one--including the over-40, politically-trained "youth"; but overall it was quite valuable.

The Assembly also adopted without a vote a request to the Secretary-General to transmit guidelines for improvement of communication between the UN and youth to Member States, etc for their comments.

UN DECADE FOR WOMEN (1976-1985)

Eight resolutions were adopted:

1. Called upon States to ensure conditions of equality between men and women and promotion without discrimination in education and public careers.

2. Urged States to promote full equality of women with men in education and in economic and social fields, and asked circulation of a UN report on the subject as a background document for the coming World Conference.

3. The Assembly accepted the offer of the Dominican Republic to host the new Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. It was established in Iran, with massive help from the Shah's government. It also asked contributions to the Trust Fund for the Institute.

4. Decided that the Voluntary Fund for the UN Decade for Women would continue to be situated at Headquarters, and expressed its desire to see the activities developed by the Fund continued beyond the Decade for Women.

5. The Conference: The Assembly called upon all Member States to make efforts in carrying out the World Conference, asked the Preparatory Committee to intensify its work in preparing a program of action, and urged the Commission on the Status of Women to consider elaborating a declaration on the participation of women in the "struggle against colonialism, racism, foreign aggression, etc, etc." It was adopted by 121 for, 2 against (Israel, US), with 21 abstentions, Westerners plus Saudi Arabia.

6. Israeli Occupation: The Assembly decided to include in the Conference an item on "Effects of Israeli Occupation on Palestinian Women Inside and Outside the Occupied Territories." This also required a vote, which was: 122 for, 2 against (Israel, US), with 20 abstentions.

7. Women Refugees throughout the world were included in the agenda of the of the Conference.

8. Approved Preparatory Committee recommendations on preparation of the World Conference. In Committee, the vote was 122 for, none against, 9 abstentions.

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

A resolution askes the Commission on Human Rights to continue to give high priority to the drafting of the Declaration of the Elimination of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, and to try to complete it for the next Assembly. It was approved without a vote. A bit surprising, since the item has been fought vigorously by the USSR in the past.

RESOLUTIONS ON RACISM

In a resolution on the Program of Activities for the remaining four years of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination,

the Assembly held that the objectives of the Decade and Program are "matters of high priority". It asked governments to take measures to put an end to any of their enterprises operating in southern Africa.

The program calls for seminars, studies and so on as well as plans to hold a Second World Conference at the end of 1983 to review progress made. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 82 for, 17 against, 6 abstentions.

The Assembly also approved without a vote a resolution on the status of the International Convention of this subject, expressing satisfaction at the increase in the number of States which have become parties to it. It also appealed to parties to consider making the declaration which recognizes the competence of the Racial Discrimination Committee to consider complaints by groups or individuals.

Crime of Apartheid: The Assembly called on States parties to the International Convention on Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid to adopt measures for its punishment, and asked the Commission on Human Rights to continue preparing a list of individuals and organizations alleged to be responsible for such crimes. The Vote: 116 for, none against, 26 abstentions. Separate votes were taken on paragraphs citing documents of the World Conference on racism which equated Zionism and racism.

By another text, on the report of the Committee on Racism, and approved without a vote. The Assembly invited States parties to the Convention to provide information on relations with the southern African racist regimes and to protect minorities and migrant workers.

COOPERATION IN THE UN ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The Assembly in a resolution approved without a vote asked the Commission on Human Rights to give priority to the completion in 1981 or a study on the existing modes of coordination in the field of human rights within the UN system.

DECOLONIZATION, APARTHEID

NAMIBIA

1. THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA

This omnibus resolution reaffirms that Namibia is the direct responsibility of the UN until independence is achieved from South Africa, and reaffirms the right of the people to struggle "by all means at their disposal, including armed struggle" against South African occupation.

It condemned the maneuvers of South Africa to impose an internal settlement giving power to a puppet regime.

The resolution calls upon the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa to ensure its compliance with UN decisions.

It also condemns South Africa for a military buildup in Namibia and

recruitment of Namibians to carry out military attacks against neighboring States, and condemns States which have assisted South Africa to develop a nuclear capability, condemns States which have assisted South Africa to develop a nuclear capability,condemns foreign corporation for exploiting the resources of the Territory and asks them to stop cooperating with South Africa. The Vote: 125 for, none against, with 17 abstentions (Western States, New Zealand and Australia).

2. UN COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA: Decided the Council should hold a series of plenary meetings in Africa in 1980, condemned the activities of foreign corporations operating in Namibia under administration of South Africa. It urged States which have not yet done so to break off economic relations with South Africa concerning Namibia. The Vote: 138 for, none against, 5 abstentions (Canada, France, FRG, UK, US).

3. FOUR OTHER NAMIBIA RESOLUTIONS

The Assembly also requested UN specialized agencies to grant membership to the Council for Namibia (136-0-7); Asked the Council to continue planning for nation-hood in developing an assistance program; asked for contributions to the UN Fund for Namibia; Directed the UN Department of Public Information to continue to generate publicity in support of Namibian independence. (139-0-5: Canada, France, FRG, UK, US).

THE POLICY OF APARTHEID

1. THE OMNIBUS RESOLUTION

The Omnibus Resolution on Apartheid became more omnibus and more ominous this year, supporting the "national liberation movement' and their efforts "by all available and appropriate means including armed struggle", seizure of "Power by the people", elimination of the apartheid regime and exercise of self determination. It committed the UN not only to eradication of apartheid but to "destruction of the regime", and declared that any collaboration with the regime is a hostile act and a "threat to international peace."

The Assembly condemned collaboration of the UK, US, FRG, France, Japan, Belgium, Israel and Italy plus transnational corporations with the regime. It asked governments to sever all relations with South Africa, and to terminate credits and the sale of krugerrands.

Further, the resolution asked the Security Council urgently to consider mandatory economic sanctions and take action under the enforcement Chapter of the Charter to prevent military, nuclear collaboration, supplies of petroleum and strategic materials, loans, investments, and all trade. (inter alia). The omnibus draft was adopted by a vote of 109 for (not a good showing), with 12 against (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, FRG, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, UK and US.)

A separate vote was taken on the paragraph naming names of selected collaborators. It was adopted by only 67 in favor to 25 against, and with 45 abstentions indicating a feeling of unfairness and incorrectness.

2. ARMS EMBARGO

The Assembly again requested the Secretary-General to declare that mil-

itary or nuclear collaboration with South Africa constitutes a threat to peace, and asked it to take mandatory measures under the famous Chapter VII (enforcement) of the Charter to end such collaboration and all related supplies. The Vote: 132 for, 3 against (France, UK, US), 9 abstentions (Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, FRG, Guatemala, Italy, Luxemburg, Portugal, Spain).

3. AN OIL EMBARGO

Requests the Security Council to consider urgently mandatory embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter" and asks all States to prohibit the same of such products. The Vote: 124 for, 7 against (Belgium, Canada, France, FRG, Luxemburg, UK, US) and 13 abstentions.

4. NUCLEAR COLLABORATION

Asked the Security Council "to consider mandatory measures" to prevent South Africa "from detonating, developing or acquiring nuclear weapons and to warn that the acquisition or testing of nuclear weapons by it would be met by enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter." It picked out France, FRG, UK and US to "cease forthwith" all nuclear collaboration with South Africa. The Vote: 119 for, 4 against (those indicated) and 18 abstentions.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS:

5. Investments: The Assembly asked the Security Council to consider stopping foreign investments and loans to South Africa. Vote: 130 for, none against, 12 abstentions.

6. Relations with Israel: It adopted a resolution on relations with Israel, condeming Israel's collaboration with South Africa and demanding it desist. Vote: 102 for, 18 against, 22 abstentions.

7. Declaration: It adopted a Declaration, without a vote, declaring that all States should recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa for elimination of apartheid and establishment of a non-racial society.

8. Sports: The Assembly also requested work be continued on the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports with a view to completing it during 1980. Vote: 131 for, none against, 14 abstentions.

9. Bantustans: The Assembly is against them. Adopted without a vote. Asked governments not to recognize them.

10. Laws and Bans: Demanded an end to repression, imprisonment, arbitrary laws, bans on organizations and media, and asked help for lives of persons charged under the Terrorism Act.

11. Assistance: Asked increased assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa, and their liberation movements. Authorized money for their offices in New York. The Vote: 134 for, 3 against, and 7 abstentions. (France, UK, US). (Comoros, Dominica, Israel, Lebanon, Paraguay, Saint Lucia, Solomon Islands)

12. Women and Children: Appealed for contributions towards assistance to special needs of women and children oppressed by apartheid, and asked their "heroic resistance" be publicized. No Vote.

13. Trust Fund: Appealed for increased contributions. Nc vote.

14 Dissemination of Information: Requested that Governments and organizations cooperate with the Special Committee against Apartheid towards dissemination of information. Vote: 142 for, none against, 3 abstentions (France, UK, US).

15. Mass Media: Urged promotion of mass media for dissemination of information on apartheid, and prevention of propaganda activities of South Africa. Vote: 125 for, none against, 19 abstentions.

16. Non-governmental Organizations: Asked concerned UN bodies to develop support of NGO's in opposition to apartheid. No vote.

17. International Conference: The Assembly decided to organize in 1980 an International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. The Vote: 125 for, 7 against (Belgium, Canada, France, FRG, Luxemburg, UK, US), 12 abstentions.

SELF DETERMINATION

This omnibus resolution on self-determination and speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, condemned "all partial agreements and separate treaties which constitute a flagrant violation of the rights of the Palestinian people", etc, etc,. which prevent the realization of the Palestinian people's aspiration to return to their homeland, to self-determination, etc.

It also condemned the increasing massacres of innocent and defenseless people in southern Africa by South Africa, and the "expansionist activities in Israel, in the Middle East, as well as the continuous bombing " of civilian Arab and Palestinian populations. The Vote: 105 for, 20 against, and 16 abstentions.

Paragraph five, which set forth the Organization of African Unity's formula for a settlement of the Sahara Dispute was disliked by Morocco, one of the parties, and was joined by Comoros, Gabon, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Zaire in a vote of 81 for, 6 against, and 44 abstentions.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

This hardy annual resolution condemned the activities of foreign economic and other interests operating in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. It named UK,US,FRG, France, Japan, Belgium, Israel and Italy.

Among other things it strongly condemned the "collusion" of France, FRG and the US with South Africa in the nuclear field, and called for economic sanctions against South Africa, including an arms embargo and withdrawal of investments.

The resolution also endorsed the OAU proposal for an Assembly of Heads of State in 1980 to moblize world public opinion for sanctions. It was adopted by a vote of 88 for, 15 against (Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, FRG, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, UK and US) with 33 abstentions -- not winning a popularity contest

SOME OTHER RESOLUTIONS:

UN Educational and Training program for Southern Africa: The Assembly requested the Secretary-General complete arrangements for evaluation of the Program and to identify priorities for further work, and appealed for financial support. Adopted without objection.

Offers by Member States of Study and Training Facilities: Invited all States to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, particularly in Southern Africa. Adopted without objection.

Further resolutions dealt with Belize, Guam, Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Bermuda, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands, Gibraltar, Cocos Islands Tokelau, St. Helena, Brunei, Falkland Island and Pitcairn.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

1. In the major annual resolution under this title, the Assembly reaffirmed once again that the continuation of colonialism is incompatible with the Charter, and other instruments, poses a serious threat to international peace and security. It also affirmed the legitimacy of the struggle for independence by all the necessary means. It condemns foreign economic and other interests impeding decolonialism. Among other things, it requested the Special Committee on Decolonialization to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council "in considering appropriate measures under the Charter..." Particular emphasis was given to Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The resolution was adopted by a vote of 125 for, 7 against (Belgium, Canada, France, FRG, Luxemburg, UK, US) with 7 abstentions (Ireland, Israel, Italy, Liberia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal.)

2. A second resolution concerning information on decolonization was adopted by 137 for, none against, with Belgium, France, Luxemburg and UK abstaining.

3. A third resolution tries to put pressure on UN agencies to build fires under decolonization. Vote: 137 for, 8 abstentions, none against.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER -- WHERE?

In an atmosphere of retrenchment and international economic anxiety, the Third World has had difficulty keeping any momentum going on the "North-South" dialogue on a new international economic order. Reasonable and responsible efforts to provide the mechanisms and the setting for that dialogue, now nearly a "dialogue of one side" continues. But the industrialized countries are having difficulty looking beyond their own immediate discomforts and short-term self interest.

DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION NEGOTIATIONS

One major resolution directed to the question concerned the continuation of global negotiations. Under its terms, the Assembly decided to launch at its special economic session next year, a round of global and sustained negotiations, "Such negotiations being action-oriented and proceeding in a simultaneous

manner in order to ensure a coherent and integrated approach to the issues under negotiation."

The Assembly agreed that such proposals should take place within the UN with participation of all states and within a specified time-frame, including major issues in the fields of raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance; in implementation of the new development strategy for the 1980's. It noted the necessity for "careful and through preparations." The Committee on the Whole on global economic issues would act as preparatory committee for the negotiations. The resolution was adopted with out a vote. It was introduced by Ambassador Niak of Pakistan, as Vice-Chairman of the Assembly in charge of the consultations.

TIMING OF SPECIAL SESSION:

The Assembly decided that the Special Session of 1980 should take place at a high political level, for two weeks between mid-August and mid-September, 1980. No vote. Later, the Assembly decided on the specific dates of August 25 to September 5.

SPECIAL SESSION

In a resolution adopted without a vote, the Assembly reaffirmed, its decision to take at the special session "appropriate action for the promotion of the development of the developing countries and international economic cooperation, including adopting a new development strategy for the 1980's, and the launching of global negotiations." Member States are invited to reexamine their position on international economic problems, and a draft strategy is called for, to be presented to the special session.

NEW INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The Assembly reaffirmed that the new strategy should address itself to increasing substantially the flow of resources to developing countries on a predictable, continous and assured basis: an additional $300 billion in financial resources, material resources and technical assistance during the 1980-1990 decade" of which yearly commitments of at least $25 billion should be made.

This was not enjoyed by the Western industrialized countries; they abstained or voted against. The Vote: 118 for; 6 no (Belgium, France, FRG, Japan, UK, US); and 16 abstentions.

UN CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT (UNCTAD)

The fifth conference took place in Manila from the 7th of May to the 3rd of June, 1979. It was regarded as generally disappointing.

IMPLEMENTATION OF UNCTAD V

A resolution called "for appropriate urgent action" to implement the decisions adopted at UNCTAD V and urged States "to reach early agreement on the remaining issues of importance." It welcomed resolutions adopted there on protectionism, commodity trade, food trade, restrictive business practices, official development assistance, the reverse transfer of technology, and assistance to building merchant fleets and ports.

The Assembly endorsed UNCTAD resolution 114 (v) on strengthening UNCTAD, its resources and administration.

Paragraph 3, which reads: "Calls for appropriate urgent action to implement at the national and international levels the resolutions and decisions as adopted by" UNCTAD V stimulated a vote. It was adopted by 114 for, none against, and 5 abstentions(FRG, Israel, Japan, UK, US.) The resolution as a whole was adopted without a vote.

UNCTAD: TRANSFER OF RESOURCES

The Assembly called on all countries, in particular developed donor countries and development institutions, to "implement on an urgent basis" recommendations on the transfer of resources to developing countries made by the Assembly's Committee of the Whole on global economic issues, and by UNCTAD V.

COMMON FUND

The Assembly agreed to advance up to $1.8 million to finance the preparatory work to bring into operation the Common Fund, which is aimed at stabilizing the prices of basic commodities. An interim committee is drafting articles of agreement for the Fund.

WORLD INFLATION

In a resolution on the effects of the world inflationary phenomenon on the development process, the Assembly recognized its effects were serious, and affirmed the needs for States, particularly the industrialized nations to control inflation by such measures as elimination of protectionism, adoption of fiscal and monetary policies, acceleration of transfer of real resources to developing countries, structural adjustments and sustained real economic growth. It asked the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board to discuss ways to combat inflation. The vote on the issue was 112 for, none against and 20 Western abstentions.

MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

These negotiations were held under the auspices of the General Agreement of Tarriffs and Trade (GATT), and concluded in 1979 in Geneva. The Assembly noted "with deep concern" that the developed countries did not take fully into account the interests and concerns of the developing countries, and noted "with particular concern that negotiations on an improved legal framework to make international trade more responsive to the needs of the developing countries were disappointing.

The Assembly recommended that UNCTAD provide technical aid to developing countries. It reiterated the need for negotiations on elimination of tariff barriers against exports of developing countries, and asked a global evaluation of tariff negotiations. The Vote: 112 for, 1 against (US), 22 abstentions.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS

UN Conference on an International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of

Technology. To be convened in the first half of 1980 -- a third session. Calls for "the necessary political will and flexibility" necessary for adoption of such a code. No vote.

Landlocked Developing Countries: Reaffirmed the right of land-locked developing countries to free access to the sea. Asks for aid and concessional loans. Vote: 118 for, none against, 20 Western abstentions.

Reverse Transfer of Technology: The Assembly asked implementation of measures adopted at UNCTAD V. It asked the examination of measuring human resource flows, and a study on feasibility of an international labor compensatory facility. (Approved without a vote.)

Restrictive Business Practices: Recommends that the Assembly convene a resumed session in 1980 of the conference on the topic.

UNCTAD Secretary-General: Gamani Corea was reappointed for 3 more years.

Natural Resources Exploration: Concerns help to developing countries to assess their needs in multilateral development assistance for exploration of natural resources; activities of a Revolving Fund, coordination in the UN of assistance in technology transfer, acceleration of petroleum production in developing countries. Approved without a vote.

Economic Cooperation Among Developing Countries: Seeks to facilitate such cooperation by among other things convening a special session of the Committee on Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries. No vote.

Conference on Least Developed: Assembly decided to convene a UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries in 1981, to adopt a Substantial New Program of Action adopted in Manila at UNCTAD V. No vote.

Women in Development: Welcomed the adoption by the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development of special provisions on the integration of women in rural development. Asks UNIDO III to consider the question of integration of women in industrial development and enhancement of equal participation. No vote.

Action Program in Favor of Developing Island Countries: Asks for urgent implementation of measures agreed on by UNCTAD, asks that the terms and conditions of aid to those countries take into account their special needs and problems. Asks that their problems figure in the new development strategy for the 1980's. No vote.

Nine USSR bloc members voted against providing travel and per diem for delegates of least developed countries to attend the Preparatory Committee on the Conference of Least Developed.

Regional and Interregional Cooperation: The Assembly emphasized the need for more vigorous action to enable the regional commissions to play their role fully as the main economic and social development centers within the UN system. The vote in Committee 2 was 91 for, none against, with 9 abstentions.

Replenishment of International Development Association(IDA): Asks contributing countries to act on the sixth replenishment of IDA:"so as to insure an adequate increase in real terms" in its resources. The replenishment has been in trouble in the US. Approved without a vote.

Special Fund for Landlocked Developing Countries: The Assembly urged particularly the developed countries to "review their position" towards the Fund and appealed for contributions. Vote: 118 for, none against, 20 Western abstentions.

Least Developed Countries: Endorses Comprehensive New Program of Action for the Least Developed adopted by UNCTAD V. Asks donor countries to implement the commitments made. Recommends assistance be in the form of grants, and that loans if made, be on highly concessional terms. No vote.

International Monetary Reform: Invites the UN system to "examine positively" the Outline for a Program of Action on the subject adopted by the Group of 77 and welcomes the establishment of a new Group of Experts on the Future Evolution of an International Monetary System set up by UNCTAD, and asks for the Group's report at is 1980 session. Vote: 117 for, 16 against, and 7 abstentions-- Western countries.

Economic Crisis: Under the heading of Immediate measures in favor of the countries most seriously affected by economic crisis, the Assembly noted with deep concern "the deterioration of the economic and financial situation most seriously affected by sharp increases in the prices of their essential imports." It asks the Secretary-General to prepare a report, appeals to donor countries, asks help from the International Monetary Fund and other financial institutions. No vote.

Interrelated Development Problems: The Assembly took note of the UN symposium on the interrelations among resources, environment, population and development, which underscored the realization that these problems need to be tackled in an interrelated manner.

UN CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT (August, 1979)

The Resolution on this topic endorses the Vienna Program of Action on Science and Technology for Development and urges implementation. It establishes an Intergovernmental Committee on the topic, as well as a new Centre, headed by an Assistant Secretary-General. A UN Financing System for Science would be established to fund activities aimed at strengthening the capacities of developing countries in this field. Until then, an Interim Fund would be created, through voluntary contributions with a target for 1980-1981 of no less than $250 million.

The Assembly held a separate vote on the establishment of a new Secretariat Centre and accepted it by a vote of 114 for, 1 against (US), and 22 abstentions.

RESTRUCTURING: Under an item on restructuring, the Assembly took several actions, among them one on the role of resident coordinators of development and on their appointment; one reaffirming that the new Director-General for Development and International Economic Cooperation should be the official in charge of carrying out restructuring recommendations and have authority over all Secretariat services and organs in the economic and social sectors -- very much easier said than done, in a major bureaucracy with its empires and fifedoms.

The Assembly also decided to put off review to next year of recommenda-

tions on planning, programing, budgeting and evaluation; and a resolution calling for expanding membership of the 54 nation Economic and Social Council to include all Members, and for discontinuing the work of seven of its subsidiary bodies. Every one is a sacred cow of someone.

Special assistance: other resolutions concerned special assistance to Zaire, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Saint Lucia and St. Vincent. Similar resolutions were adopted concerning Tonga, Grenada, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Djibouti, Botswana, Seychelles, Comoros, Zambia, Mozambique, Lesotho, Sao Tome and Principe, Chad, Uganda and Equatorial Guinea.

OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT

United Nations Childrens Fund (UNICEF): The Assembly appealed for increased contributions so that the Fund might reach its target of $290 million for 1981. It commended UNICEF's basic service approach for children, and emphasized coordination with other UN bodies. And it expressed its deep appreciation to Henry Labouisse the retiring Director of UNICEF, after his 15-year tenure.

UN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (UNDP): The Assembly appealed for the resources to achieve the target set for the 1977-1981 development cycle at an annual growth rate of 14%. The extension of the appointment of Bradford Morse as Administrator was confirmed for a four-year term.

The global recession hurt UNDP, though, as 1980 pledges took a deep slide. A pledging conference was disappointing. The US and UK pledged nothing. What they might do later is unknown. The total was about half of the 1979 pledges.

UN VOLUNTEERS PROGRAM: The Assembly endorsed an increase in the number of volunteers in service to 1,000 by 1983, and asked for contributions. The program remains amazingly small.

WORLD FOOD PROGRAM: For the 1981-1982 period, the Assembly established a minimum target for contributions of $1 billion. A pledging conference will be convened early in 1980.

UN REVOLVING FUND FOR NATURAL RESOURCES EXPLORATION: Endorses the undertaking of feasibility studies by the fund. Invites international organizations to provide technical and financial information, and asks States to contribute to the Fund.

FOOD

An omnibus resolution concerned the conclusions of the World Food Council at its fifth session, held in September in Ottawa. Adopted without a vote, the resolution urges substantially increased development assistance to the food sector, mentioning a target of $8.3 billion, to be reached by the end of 1980.

The World Food Council's call for greater equity in food distribution was endorsed; and Governments that have not yet agreed to the conclusion of a new Food Aid Convention for a minimum flow of assistance of at least 10 million tons, were asked to "reconsider their position."

In other paragraphs the Assembly urged achievement of the 500,000 ton target for the International Emergency Reserve, and provision of additional food aid to developing countries, with concern for their nutritional content. It also supported FAO programs for increased assistance for agricultural inputs and contributions to the seed improvement program as well as the action program on Food Issues. The resolution was adopted without a vote.

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS: Several resolutions were adopted, which decided on a global report on human settlements every five years; arranged for transfer of assets of Vision Habitat (Canada) to UN's Habitat; it urged States to devote a larger share of national resources to human settlement activities, as a direct mechanism for development.

TECHNICAL COOPERATION: The Assembly urged all countries to take immediate steps to implement the agreements arrived at at Buenos Aires Conference on Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries, and made plans for a high level meeting on technical cooperation to be held in 1980.

UN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (UNIDO)

The Assembly adopted three resolutions on UNIDO. Under one, adopted without a vote, States were urged to participate actively in the third General Conference to be held in New Delhi, and to contribute to the Industrial Development Fund.

By recorded vote, the Assembly retained a provision of this resolution asking that arrangements be made, including financial ones, for national, regional, and interregional conference preparations. The vote: 106 for, 8 against (Belgium, France, FRG, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, UK, US), 28 abstentions. They foresaw meetings for exclusive political groups and not for universal UN purposes.

In another UNIDO resolution, the Assembly urged States to agree to the entry into force of the new Constitution that will transform UNIDO from an Assembly organ into the UN's 16th specialized agency. The resolution, adopted without a vote, deals also with arrangements during the transition period.

A third resolution added Dominica and Saint Lucia, newest UN members, to the list of States eligible for membership in UNIDO.

COCOA CONFERENCE

A resolution expressed the Assembly's concern "at the increasing difficulties confronting developing countries in international trade in commodities and at the little progress that has been made so far in .., negotiations on the majority of commodities adopted in 1976. States participating in the Conference were urged to show the "necessary political will" so that an international agreement on cocoa could be speedily concluded. Single product States like Ghana (cocoa) suffer dreadfully when the market drops.

ENERGY: The Assembly decided that the UN Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy will be held in Nairobi in August, 1981. The Committee on Natural Resources will be the Preparatory Committee.

ENVIRONMENT

WATER: A one-day meeting of the Assembly in 1980 will launch the Internation Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade....

DESERTIFICATION: Called on Governments and financing organizations to contribute generously to the Special Account to combat desertification, noting that no contributions had so far been made. The issue became interesting after the great drought and famine in the Sahel, but nobody wants to pay for it. A vote on the resolution was 120 for, none against, and with 21 abstentions -- potential donors.

JOINT USE: The Assembly took note of the draft principles of conduct for the guidance of States in conservation and harmonious utilization of natural resources shared by two or more States.

FOULAH-DJALLON MASSIF: The Assembly invited the UN Environment Program to consider inclusion of a pilot project on the massif in its program on desertification.

MARINE ENVIRONMENT: Urged all States to ratify international conventions and protocols designed to ensure better protection of the marine environment, safety of navigation and training and competence of crews.

MONEY: The Assembly called on all Governments to increase their contribution to the Fund of UNEP.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER (OR DISORDER?)

One person's information is another person's propaganda. And the poor UN is right in the middle.

REVIEW OF UN INFORMATION POLICIES

A six-page resolution with 16 preambular paragraphs and 25 operative paragraphs concerned the work of the Committee to Review UN Public Information Policies and Activities. The Committee will be retained and retitled: UN Committee on Information. Its membership will be expanded from 41 to 66 States. And the examination will go on -- "in the light of the evolution of international relations, and of the imperatives of the establishment of the new international economic order and of a new world information and communication order." The General Assembly asked the Committee to promote the latter "based on the free circulation and wider and better balanced dissemination of information, and make recommendations to the General Assembly."

The Assembly called upon the Secretary-General to reconsider in consultation with the Committee the priorities and programs of the UN's Department of Public Information, "and to ensure the participation of the developing countries in the process of information and communication. He was also requested to take measures to ensure linguistic balance and equitable geographical distribution of personnel, etc. The resolution was adopted without a vote.

A second resolution concerned the work of UNESCO in the field, and asked it to prepare a model plan for cooperation and assistance in improvement of national information and mass communication systems for social progress and

development. It requested him to study the possibility of UNESCO's establishing a fund for development of communication.

THE UN UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY FOR PEACE

It may be recalled that a dream of U Thant, former Secretary-General was the founding of a true world university which could provide undergraduate and postgraduate work giving a global view of humanity, its history and problems. This was not to be. The UN Members cut the idea down to a postgraduate network of research centers, largely in existing facilities. While beginning to perform very valuable work in research and training at the high academic level in third world problems, the initial vision was lost. However, there is new hope in the decision concerning a University for Peace, posed by Costa Rica.

UN University: The Assembly noted that the research and advanced training activities of the University had made substantial progress in three priority areas: world hunger, human and social development; and use and management of natural resources and in development of interprogram projects.

The Assembly also appealed to Member States to make substantial contributions to the Endowment Fund and programs. The US has failed to make any contribution whatsoever to the UNU, due in large part to the efforts of Senator Hayakawa of California.

A UNIVERSITY FOR PEACE: An initiative of one of the only countries in the world without an army, and with a consistent interest in peace and human rights -- Costa Rica, the University for Peace, for which Costa Rica is giving the grounds, promises to be an important new step toward a truly non-national educational institution. It will be an international center of higher learning for postgraduate studies, research, and dissemination of knowledge specifically aimed at training for peace. A resolution approved by the Assembly without a vote established an 11-member international commission which will prepare the organization, structure and setting in motion of the University, under the following conditions: that it be international in character and a part of the system of the UNU; that the association linking the two be determined by common agreement; that it not duplicate any similar efforts; that it be financed by voluntary contributions without budget implications for the UN or UNU. It remains to be seen how much this bold offer of Costa Rica will be watered down and how much remain intact.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND PEACEKEEPING

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS (Committee of 33)

Fundamental divisions and suspicions still block completion of the work of the Committee of 33 after many years. Shall the role of the Secretary-General be preserved? (US) Shall the Security Council impose tight day-to-day control and management of peacekeeping operations? (USSR).

The report of the Committee was approved without a vote and it was urged once again "to expedite its work for an early completion of agreed guidelines which will govern the conduct of peacekeeping operations of the

UN in accordance with the Charter and to devote attention to specific questions related to the practical implementation of peacekeeping operations. The Assembly also repeated invitations to Member States to report information on experience gained in peacekeeping.

FINANCE PEACEKEEPING

The Security Council orders the troops into the field, but the General Assembly holds the purse strings. It must appropriate the funds for UN peacekeeping operations, and this it did during the General Assembly for the next six months for UN Interim Forces in Lebanon (UNIFIL); UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), and for the dismantling of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) which had patrolled the ground between the Egyptians and Israeli: from 1973 until its mandate expired on July 24, 1979.

Votes were as follows: UNEF: 98 for, 12 against (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Iraq, Mongolia, Syria, Ukraine, USSR); and 7 abstentions (Afghanistan, Algeria, Democratic Yemen, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Yemen.

UNDOF Financing: 97 for, 3 against (Albania, Iraq, Syria), 17 mostly Soviet group abstaining. China was "absent"for both votes.

UNIFIL Financing: 111 for, 13 against (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Iraq, Mongolia, Poland, Syria, Ukraine, USSR), 2 abstentions (Democratic Yemen, Mauritania). The Assembly also appealed for voluntary contributions for UNIFIL. The vote was 106 for, 13 against, with 6 abstentions.

In another resolution on UNIFIL, the Assembly decided to give itself an extra four years to pay what it owes to countries which have contributed troops because it is so short of cash -- since China and Russia and others are not paying their legal obligations. The vote: 111 for, 13 against, 3 abstentions -- mainly the same countries which have made it necessary to ask for more time!

Two resolutions were adopted to enable the UN to retain money already appropriated for the Forces but as yet unspent. If this were not done, the money would have to be credited to -- in effect, be given back to the countries which gave it. Here again, the same countries resisted vigorously. The first, on UNEF and UNDOF was adopted by 111 for, 9 against, 7 abstentions. For UNIFIL, the vote was 111 for, 11 against, 5 abstentions.

In the case of the UN Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP), financing is still more desperate. This operation is on a voluntary contributions basis, and is presently more than 73 million in debt.

The report of the S-G on UNFICYP is disheartening. Turkish Cypriot forces have imposed further restrictions on the freedom of movement of the UN peacekeepers in performing their tasks.

The Security Council met to renew the mandates of these several UN peacekeeping operations, during the Assembly session.

Reimbursement of troop contributing countries: a final resolution asked the S-G to study rates by which the UN reimburses "to ensure equitability. Vote: 110 for, 10 against, 9 abstentions.

MISCELLANEOUS

EFFECTS OF ATOMIC RADIATION

The Assembly adopted whout a vote, as it always does, and without any question, its resolution on the work of the UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic radiation.

The resolution noted as it always does, with satisfaction the work of the Committee and its work on dosage and effects and risks of ionizing radiation "from all sources" meaning not only nuclear explosions. The Committee continues to make contributions which are couched in such a way as to be meaningless in the guidance of delegations as to the risks of nuclear explosions, nuclear waste, fallout, and nuclear power.

MERCENARIES

An eleventh hour addition to the agenda was, "The Drafting of an International Convention Against Activities of Mercenaries", requested by Nigeria. The resolution was sponsored by Angola, Barbados, Benin, Ghana, Guinea, India, Jamaica, Lesotho, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Togo, Yugoslavia, Zaire, and Zambia.

The resolution declared the mercenarism, like murder, piracy and genocide, is a universal crime against humanity, and referred particularly to a Convention of the OAU condemning and outlawing mercenarism in connection with the independence and territorial integrity of African States. It asked the Assembly to consider the drafting of an international convention outlawing mercenarism.

The resolution was adopted without a vote.

TERRORISM

The Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism grinds on, year after year, but with very little progress. The most possible aspect, that of hostages, was split out of the question, and formed the basis for separate action as reported above. The resolution this year requested the Secretary-General to prepare a compilation of national legal provisions on terrorism, and condemned all acts of international terrorism and invited proposals on additional conventions on the subject.

The vote: 118 for, none against, 22 abstentions (Western States, primarily).

NON-USE OF FORCE

Nearly a non-subject on a non-treaty, the item concerns a Russian initiative not highly regarded to conclude a treaty on the non-use of force. A Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations has been meeting, and reported that it had not completed its work. The Assembly decided to send it back to work to complete drafting "at the earliest possible date a world treaty" on that subject.

-- not a record setter for popularity. David Anderson of the UK summed up a lot of feelings when he said he voted against the resolution because no general will existed for such a new treaty. He favored instead strengthening procedures for peaceful settlement of disputes and the "scrupulous observance" of existing law on the non-use of force. Most States feel it is adequately embodied in the UN Charter.

WORLD CONFERENCE ON AGRARIAN REFORM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Assembly endorsed the Declaration and program of Action adopted by this conference, held in Rome in July, 1979. It spells out a series of national and international measures to better the lot of the rural poor. The Program suggests national goals should include redistribution of land to landless and small holders and the imposition of ceilings on the size of private holdings. It also recommends pricing and interest rate help, etc. Adopted without a vote.

A further resolution dealt with the recovery and rehabilitation program in the Sudan-Sahelian region of Africa from drought and desertification.

UN INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH (UNITAR)

The resolution, adopted without a vote, urges continuation of UNITAR's work in economic and social training and research, and calls for wider financial support to UNITAR, which depends upon contributions. UNITAR has just completed a pioneering set of volumes on a new international economic order.

LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE

"The longest running play on UN-way." A resolution sponsored by Bulgaria, Canada, Lesotho, Paraguay and the Philippines approved the convening of two parts of the ninth session of the Conference in New York (February 27-April 4), Geneva (July 28-August 29). William Barton of Canada stated that the Conference had been engaged for the past several years in a radical restructuring of the fundamental concepts of international law, creating new legal concepts such as the exclusive economic zone, the common heritage of of mankind, etc. The Conference he said, is now close to completion of this immensely difficult process of creating a comprehensive constitution of the oceans. It deserves the continued support of all UN Members so that it can successfully accomplish its task. The resolution was adopted without a vote. The Assembly also agreed to continue H. Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka in his role as President.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

The UN adopted without a vote a resolution which, inter alia, commends the continued efforts of the OAU to promote multilateral cooperation among African States and to find solutions to African problems of importance to the international community.

INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA)

The Assembly adopted without a vote a resolution urging support of the IAEA is furthering the peaceful uses of nuclear power, improving the effec-

tiveness of safeguards and promoting nuclear safety.

A resolution which calls for the convening of an international conference for the promotion of international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The US said such a conference was not necessary, and Canada noted the increasing concern over health,environmental and safety aspects of nuclear power, and the damage of nuclear proliferation, challenging the timing of such a conference. Approved in principle. It would be convened by 1983.

UN DISASTER RELIEF COORDINATOR (UNDRO)

Three resolutions were adopted. The first provided additional funds to permit the Office to respond to at least 12 requests for emergency disaster assistance in any one year with a normal ceiling of $30,000 per disaster. Vote: 120 for, none against, 15 abstentions, those budget watchers, the USSR and family, plus France, FRG, Israel, Japan, UK and US. Strange bedfellows.

Two resolutions, one calling for increased assistance for drought areas of Ethiopia, and earthquake-hit areas of Montenegro were adopted without a vote.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS: The Assembly also adopted without votes, a draft resolution on examination of long term trends in development, concerning a perspective on development of the world economy up to 2000; a resolution on health as an integral part of development; a resolution on a unified approach to development analysis and planning, a resolution on implementation of the 1969 Declaration on Social Progress and Development; and three resolutions on the report of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, including one on the situation of African refugees; and one on the Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia. The latter made substantial progress in funding and coordinated action. The resolution urged the resettlement countries to increase the number and speed of their intake of Indochinese refugees.

Another resolution called for the restitution of works of art to countries or origin.

NICARAGUA: The Assembly urged financial and technical assistance for Nicaragua.

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS: The UN adopted a new scale of assessments for Member States'contributions to the regular budget for 1980-1982. The Vote: 111 for, 4 against (Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Syria) 12 abstentions. The rates of 19 countries were raised based upon their increased income. They objected.

A second resolution on assessments provides for a study by the Committee on Contributions on ways of "increasing the fairness and equity" of future scales. No vote.

Always a tricky and sensitive issue, the changes double the assessments of Saudia Arabia, and reduce China's by more than two thirds, (the UN received income figures from China for the first time). Japan is up, as is FRG, France, Australia, Iran, Canada, Brazil and Netherlands.

The US rate remains fixed at 25%, much lower that its ability to pay, by special dispensation, as the result of special US pressure.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE UN

The question of improvements in the UN turned out to be a very fascinating subject this year. The reasons are not far to seek. In the meetings during the year of the Special Committee on the Charter of the UN and of the Role of the Organization, the Permanent Members of the Security Council (minus one -- China) that is to say, US,USSR, France and UK, managed to rigidly impose the notion of "consensus" which, being interpreted in this case, means "if anyone especially one of us, disagrees on a proposal, it cannot be allowed to go forward to the General Assembly for consideration."

This is, of course, an abuse of the notion of consensus, which generally is taken to mean that, failing major differences, an item can be adopted by general agreement -thus making it possible for people who have some objections not to be forced to vote against, or abstain. The abuse of consensus amounts to an effective veto. This has been exercised repeatedly in the Special Committee by the Reluctant Powers. (RP's)

The result of this behavior was to lead Members of the Committee to bypass the Committee on three vital questions, taking them directly to the General Assembly: the question of the veto or "Principle of Unanimity" enjoyed by the Permanent Members in the Security Council; the question of changes in membership of the Security Council; and a declaration on peaceful settlement of disputes. The RP's, by their extreme oppostion to having these issues aired and considered in the Committee, brought about (for them) a worse result -- their being carried to the entire Membership.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The vote on whether or not to consider the subject of Security Council enlargement is instructive and more informative that later actions; vote: 83 for, 14 against, 9 abstentions.

Those against: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, France, GDR, Hungary, Israel, Laos, Poland, Ukraine, USSR, UK and US!

Abstaining were: Belgium, FRG, Greece, Italy, Lebanon, Luxemburg , Netherlands, New Zealand, and Saudi Arabia.

Sponsors of the Enlargement resolution were Algeria, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cuba, Grenada, Guyana, India, Japan, Maldives, Nepal, Nigeria and Sri Lanka. The specific proposal was for enlarging the membership of the Security Council from its present 15 to 19, by adding four more non-permanent members. Non-permament members would then be elected as follows: four from African States; three from Asian States; one from Eastern Europe; three from Latin America; and two from the "Western European and Other" group. One non-permanent seat would alternate between African and Asian States.

Equador, for Latin America, introduced a different formula. Under it, 21 non-permanent seats would be allocated as follows: 5 African, 3 Asian, 1 Eastern Europe, 3 Latin America, 2 Western Europe and other, 1 alternating between Latin America and Asia, and 1 alternating between Western and Eastern Europe.

India, which introduced the resolution, stated that the increased membership of the UN had not been reflected in the Security Council and that non-aligned and developing countries were underrepresented. He noted the argument that an increase in size would make the Council less effective. But, he countered, its incapacity stemmed not from its size, but from the non-action of the great Powers, and in the majority of cases it was, he said, the non-aligned group on the Council which came up with solutions.

The Council now has 10 non-permanent seats, plus the 5 permanent members. The last increase was in 1963, and since then the UN membership has enlarged by nearly one-third.

Attitudes of other Members:

GDR: The attempts to change the Security Council membership mean a serious threat to the functioning of the Organization. My Government rejects any attempts to revise the Charter, and the proposals now before the Assembly.

Japan: The draft resolution should be considered as one of the bases for continued discussion of this important topic.

US: The proposal...is not in the interests of the UN. The manner in which it was raised is contrary to the best interests of the UN....The US is concerned that a brief, hurried debate at the end of this session will not permit the consideration this matter requires.... Fifteen members is already a large number in terms of rapid decision-making. Any increase...is bound to be at the cost of efficiency.... There should be a requirement of a two-thirds vote in the Assembly, rather.

UK: Disturbed by the tactics of the cosponsors and urged them not to press it to a vote. The issue is so important that it requires the most careful consideration.

USSR: Against any attempts to revise the Charter...which could only lead to the weakening of the Foundation of the Organization.... The current membership of the Security Council is adequately balanced.

France: Realism should guide our steps. The Charter is a carefully balanced document; changes can disturb this balance.

Argentina: Supports the inclusion of the question.... It is imperative that there be more equitable representation in all the principal organs of the UN.

Yugoslavia: Considers that the proposal is important, timely and justified. The current session of the Assembly has reflected and confirmed once again the interest of the non-aligned and other countries in strengthening the role of the UN and further democratizing the whole UN system.

New Zealand: For Many Member States including my own, a modest expansion in the non-permanent membership of the Security Council is desirable:... It will permit better representation of the Members which had joined the Organization since 1963.

Action on the resolution: The Assembly decided to postpone the item and include it in the 1980 agenda.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

The Special Committee on the Charter has been diligently plowing through a great number of proposals for improving UN (and membership) involvement in settlement of disputes. However, the best of the proposals are not going to see the light of day, because of the opposition of US, USSR, France and UK in particular. One quite good proposal, however, to which there has been less objection, was brought directly to the Assembly, assuring it would be considered.

Romania proposed the elaboration of a Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes between States. The draft was supported by Bangladesh, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain and Yugoslavia. It was a concept which had appeared in the Special Committee, and was there considered to be a possible step toward a treaty on the subject, with binding provisions, although those two notions have proved highly controversial.

Attitudes of Members include the following:

Romania: The UN should assume greater responsibility with respect to efforts to present conflicts between States, setting up...a permanent body to which States could have recourse...for settlement of disputes by negotiations. It would seem appropriate to formulate and adopt an international instrument in which specific procedures for settlement of disputes...would be provided for and regulated.

U.S.: Does not think that the UN was in a position to conclude that a new declaration on peaceful settlement is necessarily the only, or the best answer to the problem.... Thus the US would not regard the adoption of the resolution as a commitment to do more than consider the question of the utility of such a declaration....

Cyprus: Wishes to cosponsor the draft but feels strongly that words should be added regarding the elaboration of procedural modalities for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Italy: Stated that it wished to cosponsor the resolution....

Sweden: My delegation will support the elaboration of a declaration, but it must include binding provisions, especially as regards third party dispute settlement procedures.

Philippines: My delegation welcomes the Romanian initiative.... The Special Committee on the Charter has been considering the subject...for the last three years and its efforts have finally begun to bear fruit.

India: Has certain reservations.... Mandatory provisions...have always been a controversial issue. ...The best way to settle disputes is through direct negotiations between the parties concerned. No State can be forced into third-party dispute settlement procedures....

ROMANIAN DRAFT DECLARATION

The Romanian Draft Declaration is rather mild. It does mention in its most controversial paragraph that "States parties to a dispute have the duty in the event of failure to reach a solution by any of the peaceful means mentioned above to continue to seek a settlement....by any other peaceful means agreed upon by them," and that "States parties may agree to submit their dispute to a compulsory jurisdiction."

Although the reference to compulsory jurisdiction states that it will be a voluntary act, the mere mention of the words is enough to make sovereign hairs on the sovereign heads of sovereign States stand on end and blanch slightly.

The Resolution: Urges all States to cooperate in the elaboration of a ... declaration....; and invites Member States to transmit to the Secretary-General their opinions, suggestions and proposals; and puts the matter on the agenda for 1980. Vote: it was adopted without a vote.

VETOING CONSIDERATION OF THE VETO ("PRINCIPLE OF UNANIMITY")

The most intriguing action of the Assembly on this question of UN improvement, however, concerns the sidetracking of any consideration of the question of the veto in the Security Council, its abuses and possible restriction.

Above all, this is the issue that the Reluctant Powers (US,USSR,UK, France) have tried to keep off the agenda in the Special Committee, and one which is also foremost in the minds of many other countries for quite opposite reasons.

A bombshell fell in the UN's Sixth (Legal) Committee in the form of a resolution introduced by Libya. It called for the drafting of an alternative rule to replace the one requiring the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council! It also asked the Secretary-General to provide a study setting forth among other things "the difficulties which the use of the right of veto raises with regard to the attainment of the purposes and principles of the UN,"etc.

To a considerable extent because of the repression of this topic within the Charter Committee, it had emerged in the most alarming form possible as far as the Permanent Members were concerned.

Later, the Libyan resolution was considerably amended. It stated that the veto question ought to be studied by the Special Committee on the Charter, and modified the request to the Secretary-General. But it was too late! The alarm bells had rung, and the unmentionable had been considerably more than mentioned.

US: If the resolution is adopted, my delegation will withdraw from participation in the work of the Charter Committee.

France: If the resolution is adopted, my delegation will no longer participate in the work of the Special Committee.

UK: Ill advised and totally unacceptable.... If draft resolution L.8 is adopted, the UK will no longer participate in the work of the Special Committee.

USSR: The principle of unanimity is the cornerstone, the bed-rock of the Organization. Adoption of the draft will put in question the participation of the USSR in the work of the Special Committee.

China: I support in principle the draft resolution and will vote in favor of it.

Pakistan: Will vote for the draft. Had been assured by the co-sponsors that the draft would not prejudge the results.

Argentina: Considers the veto an anachronistic remnant of the past. However, ... improvement of the Security Council should be approached in a different way.

Yugoslavia: Thinks that the Organization can be strengthened without the abolition of the right of veto. At the same time welcomes the discussion of the abuses of the right of veto, but abstains in the vote.

The Vote: by a narrow margin, the Sixth Committee approved the Libyan resolution: 43 in favor, 34 against, 44 abstentions.

The Aftermath: Following the vote, the real pressure was applied. If there was a positive vote on the veto study proposal when it reached the Assembly, US,USSR, France, and UK had already made it clear they would withdraw from the Special Committee. While the Committee would not then be useless, it would suffer greatly from the non-participation of those powers, and they would be certain to refuse to consider many proposals the Committee might then make on a range of topics, on the basis that they had not been a party to them.

The supporters of the work of the Special Committee faced a dilemma: whether to stand by the decision of the Sixth Committee or to s cc mb to the wish of the Reluctant Powers in order to assure continuance of the Special Committee's work. Most decided to work for the withdrawal of the Libyan resolution.

The Vote Not To Vote: When the matter reached the Assembly, Finland asked for a vote on whether to vote on the Libyan proposal. Libya asked that Finland not insist, and allow the Assembly to take a decision quite freely. The reason, he said, for the Finnish proposal was that the great Powers had threatened to boycott the work of the Special Committee.... He opposed the Finnish proposal, which would mean to give in to a form of blackmail.

Be that as it may, the Assembly did so vote, and decided by 55 to 43, with 36 abstentions not to consider the Libyan proposal or take a decision.

RENEWAL OF THE CHARTER COMMITTEE MANDATE

The Special Committee on the Charter and on the Role of the Organization will continue. Its mandate was easily renewed by a vote of 116 for, none against, and 23 abstentions. These included USSR and family, France and UK, but the US voted in favor.

Sixth Committee (AM)

Press Release GA/L/2054
29 November 1979

The vote in Sixth Committee to study the Veto

ANNEX I

Vote on Charter Committee Report

The draft resolution on the report of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization (document A/C.6/34/L.8/Rev.1) was approved by a recorded vote of 43 in favour to 34 against, with 44 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Burundi, Cape Verde, China, Comoros, Congo, Djibouti, Ecuador, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Libya, Madagascar, Maldives, Malta, Mauritania, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Suriname, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen.

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Ukraine, USSR, United Kingdom, United States, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Argentina, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Guatemala, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Swaziland, Thailand, Uganda, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Absent: Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Bahamas, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Lebanon, Liberia, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Syria, Turkey, Zaire.

(END OF ANNEX I)

Thirty-fourth General Assembly
105th Plenary Meeting (AM)

Press Release GA/6137
17 December 1979

Decision in the Assembly not to vote on the Libyan proposal.

ASSEMBLY PLENARY -- ANNEX IV

Decision Not to Vote on Draft Resolution on Review of Right of Veto

The Assembly adopted the motion not to vote on the draft resolution in paragraph 21 (document A/34/769), concerning the review of the rule of unanimity of permanent members of the Security Council, by a recorded vote of 55 in favour to 43 against, with 36 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussia, Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Luxembourg, Mexico, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Samoa, Singapore, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Thailand, Ukraine, USSR, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Zambia.

Against: Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Barbados, Benin, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Democratic Kampuchea, Djibouti, Ecuador, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libya, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sri Lanka, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Gabon, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Malaysia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zaire.

Absent: Angola, Bahamas, China, Colombia, Comoros, Cuba, Cyprus, Dominica, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Liberia, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey.

(END OF ANNEX IV)

THE BUDGET

The UN Assembly adopted a budget of $1.2 billion for 1980-1981. It is a two-year appropriation 15 percent above the previous period. The increase reflects to a high extent the effects of inflation.

The vote on the final budget was 119 for, with 9 against (USSR group), and 9 abstentions (China, France, FRG, Israel, Italy, Japan, Romania, UK, and US).

The budget was described as an "austerity budget" when originally presented by the Secretary-General in August. Since then the Assembly added $66 million, or 5.6 percent to it, as initially recommended by its budgetary "watchdog" committee, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ), one of the least known, and most powerful committees.

Most of the money concerns overruns in construction costs for expanded facilities in New York, Vienna, and Nairobi.

NOTE TO UFO LOVERS: We are sorry to report that a coup in Grenada, which removed the Prime Minister, has led to the disappearance of the item from the UN Agenda.

UNITED NATIONS VOTING BOX SCORE
20 VITAL ISSUES

34th GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SUMMARY

TOP SCORE: 98% -- Samoa
HIGH SCORES: 95% -- Chile, Finland, Sweden
93% -- Austria, Burma, Swaziland, Peru
90% -- Argentina, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Fiji, Togo Zaire

LOW SCORES: 15% -- Albania (New Members not scored.)
28% -- Seychelles
23% -- Equatorial Guinea

PERMANENT MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL

63% -- United Kingdom
60% -- China
60% -- France
55% -- USSR
48% -- US

NORDIC GROUP

Denmark -- 80%
Finland -- 95%
Iceland -- 88%
Norway -- 83%
Sweden -- 95%

SOVIET GROUP

Bulgaria -- 55%
Byelorussia -- 55%
Czechoslovakia -- 55%
GDR -- 55%
Hungary -- 55%
Mongolia -- 55%
Poland -- 55%
Ukraine -- 55%
USSR -- 55%

Afghanistan -- 70%
Cuba -- 75%
Romania -- 78%

NOTES: Criteria in Scoring: Evaluation of resolutions is based on their accord with the following criteria: world peace andjust relations among nations; economic equity; human rights and social justice; effective world organization; preservation of environment, and ecological balance.
Selection of resolutions: Representative resolutions in areas of political questions, disarmament, and international security; human rights and decolonization; economic justice and equity; strengthening the UN, are selected to provide a spread of questions and voting patterns on a variety of issues, allowing emergence of an "averaging" profile on State behavior.

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UNITED STATES VOTING RECORD

Percentage Score: 48% Other years: 1978--58%; 1977--72%; 1976, 1975, 1974--45%

HOW THE US VOTED

ISSUE	U.S. VOTE	HOW SCORED
1. Comprehensive Test Ban	Yes	Right
2. Test Ban Study	Abstain	Wrong
3. Satellite Monitoring Agency	Abstain	Wrong
4. Nuclear Weapons Negotiations	No	Wrong
5. Indian Ocean Peace Zone	Abstain	Wrong
6. Moon Treaty	Consensus	Right
7. Credentials of Cambodia	Yes	No Score
8. Cyprus, Paragraph 11	No	Wrong
9. Convention on Hostage Taking	Yes	Right
10. Convention on Discrimination Against Women	Yes	Right
11. Indivisibility of Human Rights	No	Wrong
12. Middle East	No	No Score
13. Camp David	No	Right
14. UN Peacekeeping Finance	Yes	Right
15. Hegemonism	No	No Score
16. Namibia	Abstain	No Score
17. Apartheid	No	Right
18. Trade Negotiations	No	Wrong
19. UNCTAD V Implementation	Abstain	No Score
20. Enlarging Security Council Membership - to consider	No	Wrong

For Details of Resolutions See Page Four

NATIONAL SCORES

AFGHANISTAN	70
ALBANIA	15
ALGERIA	75
ANGOLA	73
ARGENTINA	90
AUSTRALIA	83
AUSTRIA	93
BAHAMAS	83
BAHRAIN	83
BANGLADESH	75
BARBADOS	80
BELGIUM	70
BENIN	73
BHUTAN	80
BOLIVIA	85
BOTSWANA	80
BRAZIL	75
BULGARIA	55
BURMA	93
BURUNDI	88
BYELORUSSIAN SSR.	55
CANADA	78
CAPE VERDE	83
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUB	85
CHAD	78
CHILE	95
CHINA	60
COLOMBIA	63
COMOROS	68
CONGO	83
COSTA RICA	90
CUBA	75
CYPRUS	83
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	55
DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA	63
DEMOCRATIC YEMEN	73
DENMARK	80
DJIBOUTI	65
DOMINICA	New
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	90
ECUADOR	90
EGYPT	93
EL SALVADOR	88
EQUATORIAL GUINEA	23
ETHIOPIA	75
FIJI	90
FINLAND	95
FRANCE	60
GABON	83
GAMBIA	83
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REP	55
GERMANY, FEDERAL REP	68
GHANA	83
GREECE	80
GRENADA	75
GUATEMALA	85
GUINEA	85
GUINEA-BISSAU	85
GUYANA	85
HAITI	85
HONDURAS	85
HUNGARY	55
ICELAND	88
INDIA	88
INDONESIA	83
IRAN	58
IRAQ	65
IRELAND	85
ISRAEL	43
ITALY	75
IVORY COAST	85
JAMAICA	83
JAPAN	83
JORDAN	83
KENYA	80
KUWAIT	83
LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC	60
LEBANON	75
LESOTHO	78
LIBERIA	85
LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA	73
LUXEMBOURG	70
MADAGASCAR	85
MALAWI	53
MALAYSIA	80
MALDIVES	80
MALI	83
MALTA	65
MAURITANIA	70
MAURITIUS	65
MEXICO	88
MONGOLIA	55
MOROCCO	78
MOZAMBIQUE	70
NEPAL	85
NETHERLANDS	75
NEW ZEALAND	80
NICARAGUA	53
NIGER	85
NIGERIA	75
NORWAY	83
OMAN	80
PAKISTAN	80
PANAMA	88
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	73
PARAGUAY	73
PERU	93
PHILIPPINES	85
POLAND	55
PORTUGAL	78
QATAR	85
ROMANIA	78
RWANDA	85
SAINT LUCIA	New
SAMOA	98
SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE	80
SAUDI ARABIA	70
SENEGAL	80
SEYCHELLES	28
SIERRA LEONE	78
SINGAPORE	83
SOLOMON ISLANDS	New
SOMALIA	65
SOUTH AFRICA	Not scored
SPAIN	88
SRI LANKA	88
SUDAN	75
SURINAME	75
SWAZILAND	93
SWEDEN	95
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC	80
THAILAND	88
TOGO	90
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	85
TUNISIA	85
TURKEY	75
UGANDA	88
UKRAINIAN SSR	55
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST	55
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	80
UNITED KINGDOM	63
UNITED REP CAMEROON	88
UNITED REP TANZANIA	88
UNITED STATES	48
UPPER VOLTA	78
URUGUAY	83
VENEZUELA	83
VIET NAM	58
YEMEN	78
YUGOSLAVIA	85
ZAIRE	90
ZAMBIA	88

HOW ISSUES WERE SCORED

Descriptions of Resolutions

1. COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--Wrong. Vote: 137 for, none against, 2 abstentions: China, France. Asks the CD to initiate negotiations as highest priority, calls upon US, UK, and USSR to "use their best endeavors."

2. TEST BAN STUDY. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--Wrong. Vote: 126 for, 9 against, 4 abstentions. Asks the Secretary-General to prepare a study as recommended by the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies , and by himself.

3. SATELLITE MONITORING AGENCY. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--Wrong. Vote : 124 for, none against, 11 abstentions; USSR group, and US.

4. NUCLEAR WEAPONS NEGOTIATIONS. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--NoScore. Vote: 120 for, 2 against (France, US); 19 abstentions. Urges all nuclear weapon States to negotiate on the halting of the nuclear arms race and on reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery within a comprehensive phased program with an agreed time-frame.

5 . INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--Wrong. Vote: 117 for none against, 23 abstentions. Welcomes report of meeting of States of the Indian Ocean, and development of common position. Urges talks between the USSR and US on their military presence in the Indian Ocean be resumed.

6. MOON TREATY. Adopted by consensus. Everyone gets a plus. States that the Moon's resources are the common heritage of mankind, not subject to national appropriation. The establishment of military bases, etc, is forbidden.

7. CREDENTIALS OF CAMBODIA(KAMPUCHEA). Yes--No Score; No--No Score; Abstain--Right. Vote: 71 for 35 against, 34 abstentions. The Assembly decides to seat representatives of the former Pol Pot regime.

8. CYPRUS. Vote on operative paragraph 11. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--No Score. Vote: 87 for, 10 against, 40 abstentions. The paragraph states that the Security Council should examine implementation of its resolutions on Cyprus "within a specified time frame" and adopt if necessary, measures for implementing them. Concerns prevailing on the Turkish troops to go home.

9. CONVENTION ON HOSTAGE TAKING .Vote on Article 9. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--Wrong. Vote: 125 for, 10 against, 3 abstentions. The article states that extradition will not be granted if there is reason to believe that the person might be punished for his race, religion, nationality, or political opinion, etc.

10. CONVENTION ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--Wrong. Vote: 130 for, none against, 11 abstentions. States that discrimination against women is incompatible with human dignity and welfare of society and affirms that women and men should participate and contribute on a basis of equality.

11. INDIVISIBILITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--Wrong. Vote: 136 for, 1 against (US), 7 abstentions. Declares that all human rights are indivisible and interdependent and that equal attention should be given to both civil and political, and economic, social and cultural rights; states necessity to guarantee work, etc.

12. MIDDLE EAST, General Resolution. Yes--No Score; No--No Score; Abstain--Right. Vote: 102 for, 17 against, 20 abstentions. States settlement must be based on a comprehensive solution which takes into account the attainment by the Palestinians of their rights. Condemns "all partial agreements and separate treaties."

13. CAMP DAVID. Yes--Wrong; No--Right; Abstain--No Score. Vote: 75 for, 33 against, 37 abstentions. Declares that the Camp David Accords have no validity.

14. FINANCING UN FORCE IN LEBANON. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--Wrong. Vote: 111 for, 13 against, 2 abstentions. Provides financing to continue the force.

15. HEGEMONISM. Yes--No Score; No--No Score; Abstain--Right. Vote: 111 for, 4 against, 26 abstentions. Declares that no State should pursue hegemony in international relations or seek dominance. One paragraph includes a reference to "Zionism."

16. NAMIBIA, Omnibus Resolution. Yes--Right; Abstain--No Score. Vote: 125 for, 17 abstentions. Asks sanctions against South Africa for compliance with UN's decisions.

17. APARTHEID, Omnibus Resolution. Calls for economic sanctions, cessation of military or nuclear collaboration. Singles out several States. Supports "seizure of power by the people," etc. Yes--No Score; No or Abstain--Right. Vote: 67 for, 25 against; 45 abstentions.

18. TRADE NEGOTIATIONS. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--No Score. Vote: 112 for, 1 against (US), 22 abstentions. Notes with deep concern that developed countries did not take fully into account concerns of developing countries in the Tokyo round of GATT trade negotiations.

19. UNCTAD V. Paragraph 3. Yes--Right; Abstain--No Score. Vote: 125 for, none against; 5 abstentions (FRG, Israel, Japan, UK, US). Calls for urgent action to implement resolutions adopted by UN Conference on Trade and Development V.

20. SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP. Yes--Right; No--Wrong; Abstain--Wrong. Vote: 83 for, 14 against, 9 abstentions. A vote in favor of including in the Assembly agenda an item concerning additions to membership of the Security Council.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY • ROLL-CALL

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	%
AFGHANISTAN	YR	YR	YR	YR	\	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YW	\	NO	NR	NO	YR	YR	NP	70
ALBANIA	\	\	\	\	\	YR	NO	AW	\	\	\	\	AW	AW	\	NR	NO	\	\	\	15
ALGERIA	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YW	\	NO	NR	NO	NR	YR	\	75
ANGOLA	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	NR	NR	\	YW	\	NO	YR	NO	YR	NR	\	73
ARGENTINA	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	NR	YR	NO	AO	NR	NO	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	90
AUSTRALIA	YR	YR	YR	AO	YR	NR	NO	AO	YR	YR	NR	NO	NR	YR	NO	AO	NR	AO	YR	YR	83
AUSTRIA	YR	YR	YR	NR	YR	YR	AR	AO	YR	NR	YR	AR	NR	YR	AR	AO	NR	AO	YR	YR	93
BAHAMAS	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	AO	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	\	83
BAHRAIN	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	AR	\	YR	YR	YR	NO	YW	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	83
BANGLADESH	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	NW	YR	AW	YR	NO	YW	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	75
BARBADOS	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	\	YR	YR	AR	AO	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	\	80
BELGIUM	YR	YR	YR	AO	AW	YR	NO	AO	YR	YR	AW	NO	NR	YR	AR	AO	NR	AO	NR	AW	70
BENIN	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YW	\	NO	YR	NO	YR	\	YR	73
BHUTAN	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YW	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	\	80
BOLIVIA	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	AO	YR	NO	YR	AR	YR	YR	\	85
BOTSWANA	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	AR	YR	AW	YR	YR	NO	YW	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	80
BRAZIL	YR	YR	YR	AO	YR	YR	\	AO	YR	AW	YR	NO	AO	YR	\	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	75
BULGARIA	YR	AW	AW	YR	AW	YR	NO	YR	AW	YR	YR	NO	YW	AW	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	AW	85
BURMA	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	AR	AO	YR	NO	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	93
BURUNDI	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YW	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	88
BYELORUSSIAN SSR	YR	AW	AW	YR	AW	YR	AW	YR	AW	YR	YR	NO	YW	AW	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	AW	85
CANADA	YR	YR	YR	AO	AW	YR	NO	AO	YR	YR	YR	NO	NR	YR	NO	AO	NR	AO	YR	YR	78
CAPE VERDE	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	AR	YW	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	\	83
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUB	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	\	AO	YR	YR	YR	NO	AO	YR	NO	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	85
CHAD	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	AO	YR	YR	YR	\	AO	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	\	78
CHILE	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	AO	YR	YR	YR	AR	NR	YR	AR	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	95
CHINA	AW	\	YR	\	NR	YR	NO	\	YR	YR	YR	NO	\	\	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	60
COLOMBIA	\	\	\	\	\	YR	NO	AO	YR	YR	YR	NO	AO	YR	NO	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	63
COMOROS	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	\	YR	AW	YR	NO	YW	\	NO	YR	\	YR	YR	YR	68
CONGO	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YW	\	NO	YR	NR	YR	YR	YR	83
COSTA RICA	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	NR	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	90
CUBA	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	AW	YR	YR	NO	YW	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	75
CYPRUS	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YW	YR	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	\	83
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	YR	AW	AW	YR	AW	YR	NO	YR	AW	YR	YR	NO	YW	AW	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	AW	55
DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA	\	YR	YR	\	YR	YR	NO	\	YR	YR	YR	NO	\	YR	NO	YR	\	YR	YR	\	63
DEMOCRATIC YEMEN	YR	YR	\	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	AR	YW	AW	NO	YR	NO	YR	YR	\	73
DENMARK	YR	YR	YR	AO	AW	YR	NO	AO	YR	YR	YR	NO	NR	YR	AR	AO	NR	AO	YR	YR	80
DJIBOUTI	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	NW	YR	AW	YR	NO	YW	YR	\	YR	AR	\	\	YR	65
DOMINICA	\	\	\	\	\	YR	\	\	\	\	\	\	\	\	\	\	\	\	\	\	—
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	NR	YR	NO	YR	AR	YR	YR	\	90
ECUADOR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	AO	YR	NO	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	90
EGYPT	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	NR	YR	NO	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	93
EL SALVADOR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	YR	YR	YR	YR	NO	AO	YR	\	YR	AR	YR	YR	YR	88
EQUATORIAL GUINEA	\	\	\	\	\	YR	\	YR	\	\	YR	NO	NR	\	\	\	\	\	\	\	23

1. Comprehensive Test Ban
2. Test Ban Study
3. Satellite Monitoring Agency
4. Nuclear Weapons Negotiations
5. Indian Ocean Peace Zone
6. Moon Treaty
7. Cambodia Credentials
8. Cyprus
9. Hostage Taking
10. Discrimination Against Women
11. Indivisibility of Human Rights
12. Middle East.
13. Camp David
14. Peacekeeing Finance
15. Hegemonism
16. Namibia
17. Apartheid
18. Trade Negotiations
19. UNCTAD V
20. Security Council Membership

Y-Yes; N-No;
A-Abstain
R-Right; W-Wrong;
O-No Score; NP-Not Participating
Line-Absent
RIGHT MINUS WRONG & ABSENCES

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 %
ETHIOPIA
FIJI
FINLAND
FRANCE
GABON
GAMBIA
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPU
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPU
GHANA
GREECE
GRENADA
GUATEMALA
GUINEA
GUINEA-BISSAU
GUYANA
HAITI
HONDURAS
HUNGARY
ICELAND
INDIA
INDONESIA
IRAN
IRAQ
IRELAND
ISRAEL
ITALY
IVORY COAST
JAMAICA
JAPAN
JORDAN
KENYA
KUWAIT
LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC
LEBANON
LESOTHO
LIBERIA
LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA
LUXEMBOURG
MADAGASCAR
MALAWI
MALAYSIA
MALDIVES
MALI
MALTA
MAURITANIA
MAURITIUS
MEXICO
MONGOLIA
MOROCCO
MOZAMBIQUE
NEPAL
NETHERLANDS
NEW ZEALAND
NICARAGUA

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	%
NIGER																					85
NIGERIA																					75
NORWAY																					93
OMAN																					80
PAKISTAN																					80
PANAMA																					88
PAPUA NEW GUINEA																					73
PARAGUAY																					73
PERU																					93
PHILIPPINES																					85
POLAND																					55
PORTUGAL																					78
QATAR																					85
ROMANIA																					78
RWANDA																					85
SAINT LUCIA																					
SAMOA																					98
SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE																					80
SAUDI ARABIA																					70
SENEGAL																					80
SEYCHELLES																					28
SIERRA LEONE																					78
SINGAPORE																					93
SOLOMON ISLANDS																					
SOMALIA																					65
SOUTH AFRICA																					
SPAIN																					98
SRI LANKA																					88
SUDAN																					75
SURINAME																					75
SWAZILAND																					73
SWEDEN																					95
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC																					90
THAILAND																					88
TOGO																					90
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO																					85
TUNISIA																					95
TURKEY																					75
UGANDA																					88
UKRAINIAN SSR																					55
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST																					55
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES																					80
UNITED KINGDOM																					63
UNITED REPU OF CAMEROON																					88
UNITED REPU OF TANZANIA																					88
UNITED STATES																					48
UPPER VOLTA																					78
URUGUAY																					83
VENEZUELA																					83
VIET NAM																					58
YEMEN																					78
YUGOSLAVIA																					85
ZAIRE																					90
ZAMBIA																					88